

# The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE; WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

VOL. I.—NO. 20.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1868.

\$2 A YEAR.  
SINGLE COPY 10 CENTS.

## The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.  
PARKER PILLSBURY, }  
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

OFFICE 37 PARK ROW (ROOM 20).

### THE ANNIVERSARIES.

As the reports of the various anniversaries have been published in our daily journals and scattered throughout the nation, it is unnecessary for us to repeat what has been already given to the public; suffice it to say that the Equal Rights, Anti-Slavery and Peace Societies held their meetings as usual, making earnest, eloquent, and able arguments in favor of the enfranchisement of women and black men, and the emancipation of the nation's of the earth from the despots of wars, standing armies, national debts, land monopolies and a monied aristocracy. On all these platforms we perceive a broadening of the range of thought, showing that we are leading to the one central idea: that national safety and prosperity rests on the security of individual life, liberty and happiness.

No one can talk with the men and women who have been prominent in these reforms for the last thirty years without seeing that they have sounder views on all questions of political economy, finance, trade, capital, and labor, than have those who now stand at the helm of government.

We feel that in this school of reform, a wise Providence has been educating the future rulers of our republic, and if we have seemed to differ with those with whom we have labored so long, it is not that we have less faith in their goodness and truth, nor less appreciation of their special work, but because we so clearly see the broader work of the hour which we would have them do; the nation's need that wise and upright men should point out to the people the way of safety and stand at the helm of government. There is danger that the sectarianism of reformers may be as great a block in the way of progress as has been that of the church in the way of religion. We endeavored in our editorial last week to show that all these reforms resolve themselves into the one idea of individual rights.

Inasmuch as many of the same men and women met in these three different societies to make the same arguments, for nearly the same thing, instead of talking to bare walls, as each did separately, how much more pleasant and profitable, and what an economy of time and money it would have been if we had all come together in the Academy of Music and discussed "Universal Suffrage," "Capital and Labor," "Free Trade" and a Congress of nations, which points cover all we have to say and involve the whole problem of national life. Every one

knows that a certain latitude of thought and subject is necessary to keep up the interest and enthusiasm of a meeting.

We should like to see a "National Reform League," with Wendell Phillips President, or any honest man, and some concentrated organized action of thinking men and women against the corrupt politicians who are now plotting the ruin of this nation.

E. C. S.

### AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

THE AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION held its annual meeting in Cooper Institute, N. Y., May 14th. Its officers, with but few changes, are the same as last year, but for the benefit of those just chosen, that they may be aware of their new honors, we publish the list of officers for the present year. As there will probably be a full report of all the proceedings of this convention published in pamphlet form, our friends all over the country will be able to read what was said.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

*President.*—LUCRETIA MOTTE.

*Vice Presidents.*—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, N. Y.; Frederick Douglass, N. Y.; Henry Ward Beecher, N. Y.; Martha C. Wright, N. Y.; Elizabeth B. Chace, R. I.; C. Prince, Ct.; Frances D. Gage, N. Y.; Robert Purvis, Penn.; Parker Pillsbury, N. H.; Antoinette Brown Blackwell, N. J.; Josephine S. Griffing, D. C.; Thomas Garret, Del.; Stephen H. Camp, Ohio; Euphemia Cochrane, Mich.; Mary A. Livermore, Ill.; Mrs. Isaac H. Sturgeon, Mo.; Amelia Bloomer, Iowa; Mary A. Starrett, Kansas. Virginia Penny, Kentucky.; Olympia Brown, Mass.

*Corresponding Secretary.*—Mary E. Gage.

*Recording Secretaries.*—Henry B. Blackwell, Hattie Purvis.

*Treasurer.*—John J. Merritt.

*Executive Committee.*—Lucy Stone, Edward S. Bunker, Elizabeth R. Tilton, Ernestine L. Rose, Robert J. Johnston, Edwin A. Studwell, Anna Cromwell Field, Susan B. Anthony, Theodore Tilton, Margaret E. Winchester, Abby Hutchinson Patton.

### "WHY DON'T YOU X?"

In reply to the many calls we receive from editors in all parts of the country to exchange with them, it is with great regret we find ourselves compelled to refuse. Our rapidly increasing circulation takes all that we publish in advance.

Remember gentlemen, 6,000 editors are asking us to exchange. Those who hold the fat offices under government, who have all the advantages and opportunities of life open to them; who have the national, state and county printing and advertising, ask us, a disfranchised class, shut out of all the profitable and honorable posts of life, to give the ruling class \$12,000 a year. We have been so cordially welcomed to the field of journalism, that we are truly sorry to refuse so small a favor, but as our price is very low, only \$2.00 a year, we hope there is enough chivalry in the press, to contribute this

sum to sustain the only journal in the nation that advocates Universal Suffrage in the reconstruction.

### CORRESPONDENTS.

As we desire to give everybody an opportunity to express an earnest thought in "THE REVOLUTION," we must urge our friends to make their letters and articles as short and pointed as possible. A short article will be read and copied when a long one passes unnoticed. We are overwhelmed with long communications that we have no space to print or time to read. Emerson says the strength of style consists in "striking out."

### BISHOP BERKLEY ON PAPER MONEY.

BISHOP BERKLEY died more than a century ago, and his works are not now in high repute outside the schools of metaphysics. He was, however, one of those versatile men (very rare in these days), who knew a great deal on a great many things. A rill of genuine poetry ran also through his venous system. It may be news to some of our readers that he wrote the often quoted lines—

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way,  
The four first acts already past;  
A fifth shall close the drama with the dry  
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

The Bishop was an Irishman by birth, and in 1728 married the daughter of Hon. John Forster, then Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. Soon after he sailed with his wife for America and landed, after a tedious passage of five months, in Newport, Rhode Island. There he purchased a farm and built a house which is still standing. He remained in this country but two or three years, though on leaving it he gave his estate and library to Yale College, and the organ (still in use) to Trinity Church in Newport, where he often officiated while resident there. He it was of whom Alexander Pope said, "he possessed every virtue under heaven." And another more eminent wrote of him, "so much understanding, knowledge, innocence and humility, I should have thought confined to angels, had I never known Bishop Berkley."

But it was only the Bishop's propositions on Paper Money that we intended here to present. They are brief and stated only in form as propositions, but are well worthy attention at this time:—

"Whether money would ever be wanting to the demands of industry if we had a national bank?

Whether paper doth not, by its stamp and signature, acquire a local value (if issued by the state a national value), and become as scarce and precious as gold; and whether it be not much fitter to circulate large sums, and therefore preferable to gold?

Whether it doth not much import to have a

right conception of money; and whether its true and just idea is not that of a ticket, entitling to power and fitted to record such power and transfer the same?

Whether it be not evident that we may maintain a much greater outward and inward commerce, and be five times richer than we are, and our bills abroad be of far greater credit, though we had not an ounce of gold or silver in the whole island?

Whether the use and nature of money, which all men so eagerly pursue, be yet understood and considered by all?

Whether a national bank (not a private joint stock bank like the bank of England) would not be as beneficial as a mine of gold?

Whether the true idea of money be not altogether that of a ticket or counter?

Whether there be any virtue in gold and silver, other than as they set people to work and create industry?

Whether it be not agreed that paper hath, in many respects, the advantage above coin as being of more dispatch in payments, more easily transferred, preserved and recovered when lost?

Whether the sure way to supply people with tools and materials, and set them to work, be not a free circulation of money, whether silver or paper?

Whether a national bank (or a department of state issuing paper money) would not be more beneficial than a mine of gold?

#### WHAT THE PRESS SAYS OF US.

From the Daily Eagle, Reading, Pa.

"THE REVOLUTION."—Its design is to effect a Revolution in popular opinion on many important subjects.

While we differ very materially from the editors in some respects, we contend that their side of the question is entitled to a patient hearing. It is a poor compliment to the gallantry of the American nation that the idea of white female suffrage is ignominiously hooted down, while ignorant and degraded negroes are enfranchised. Any unprejudiced person must admit that the educated white women of the United States are better qualified to exercise the right of suffrage than the Southern negroes can be, under any circumstances. Although the idea of "woman, lovely woman," interfering in the strife and turmoil of politics is distasteful to us, we must admit that the best interests of America, and the liberties of Americans, would be safer in the hands of American women than they are in those of the designing demagogues and ignorant black and white dupes of the radical party. To give the ballot to the Southern negroes and refuse it to the white women of the entire nation, is an outrage which should not be submitted to by the American people.

The position of "THE REVOLUTION" on the great financial issues of the day is, in our opinion, a very proper one. Its articles on this subject are sound and to the point. The same may be said of its opinions on female labor, now so inadequately rewarded in all parts of the country. The latter subject especially needs agitation. Women should be encouraged to acquire proficiency in all branches of industry. Too often the wife is obliged to support the family, while the husband lounges away his time in the bar-room, and she should at least have an opportunity to earn more than the usual pittance awarded to women for that purpose.

We do not believe that the mass of American women desire the right of suffrage. We believe the majority of them prefer to be the "ministering angels," who make home a heaven. The mothers of our land can, if they will, fulfil a higher and holier mission than the entire sex can accomplish at the ballot-box.

We never talked with a woman five minutes and pointed out to her the dignity and power of the ballot, in elevating and educating her sex and regenerating society, but she was ready to vote at once. It is not the simple act of going to the ballot-box and depositing a vote that works the magic influence we claim, but it is the entire change that public sentiment must undergo in the recognition of woman as an equal, that makes this right of suffrage, as one step to that end, so important. This demand can be concisely summed up thus: Let woman have the same right man has to interpret Nature's laws and decide her own sphere. Let her decide her own rights and duties and do her own work. We ask no more than the poor devils in the Scriptures asked, "Let us alone." We do not want man to make any special laws for us. Let your codes and constitutions recognize persons, human beings, say nothing about women and negroes, but make the best possible government for yourselves, and then let us come in and rough it with you. Our great regard and compassion for the "white male" compels us to demand that he be released from bearing the heavy burthens of all the personal and property rights of women and negroes, of all that peculiar kind of care and protection that he has extended to us in the past. The "white males" has had so much to do with other people's rights that they have entirely neglected those of their own class. It is time for these weak women and worthless negroes to stand on their own feet and bear their own burthens, and give the "white male" time to look after the finances of the country, to adjust the relations of capital and labor, to relieve the people from onerous taxation, to give us plenty of greenbacks, a sober, upright, honest President, and leave the women and negroes to take care of themselves. There are two things God never meant man should do, and he has always been lost in the mists and fogs whenever he attempted either, viz.: to explore a passage round the North pole, and to describe the limits of woman's sphere. As to these "ministering angels," peace and purity will never reign at the hearth-stone until they descend with healing in their wings into the depths of these muddy pools of corruption and vice in the great wilderness of life, where so many of our sons and daughters have stumbled and gone down. Go look at the poverty and desolation of our Southern homes, and learn what the women of a nation have suffered from a false idea in government. Jefferson, Hancock, and Adams, wise men in council, thought as men do to-day, that they had in themselves all the elements of national life, but had the Mary Adamses had a voice in that first Constitutional Convention our declaration of equality would have been the basis of our government.

From the Dundee Record.

"THE REVOLUTION."—We have no objection to seeing or hearing women contend for all the rights which legitimately belong to them, and it is morally certain that if they have civil and political rights which have been hitherto withheld from them, they will never secure them, even in republican America, unless they ask for them, and get up a wide spread and thorough agitation of the subject. This appears to be the aim of the publishers of "THE REVOLUTION," and we welcome them to the forum of contest, as they are clearly reformers in every sense of the word, we hail them as co-workers in bringing about a reform in morals, which is greatly needed in our wide-spread country. As women are made to suffer in a greater or less degree from all the vices which afflict community, they should be allowed to free themselves from the influence and curses of these things, and aid in producing a better state in society.

From the Keene Reporter, Gardiner, Me.

"THE REVOLUTION."—We have received a copy of this new paper, which is devoted to the advocacy of the rights of womankind. It is a handsome paper, and is edited with a great deal of energy and pluck.

From the Blairsville (Pa.) Press.

To be candid, we rather like "THE REVOLUTION," it is well edited, artistically it is a perfect specimen of printing.

Thanks to Robert J. Johnston, Printer, 33 Beckman street.

From the Yonkers (N. Y.) Gazette.

We have received a specimen number of that zealous and aggressive advocate of woman's rights, "THE REVOLUTION." Every aspect of the question is treated with vigorous ability, but, naturally, not always with discretion. "THE REVOLUTION" also grapples with public questions outside of those pertaining more especially to the "rights" and "wrongs" of woman, and discusses politics, finance, and social topics, of every

discretion! Do you claim that as a manly virtue? All public questions effect man and woman equally. We are, like yourselves, subject to the desolations of war, taxation and death.

From the Miner's Journal, Pottsville, Pa.

Whatever may be thought of the feasibility of the peculiar tenets held by "THE REVOLUTION" on the subject of enfranchising woman, there can be no denial of the fact that our contemporary is edited with consummate ability. We wish it a successful career in the field of journalism.

Do your best to introduce us into the coal mines of Pottsville.

From the Southbridge (Mass.) Journal.

"THE REVOLUTION."—"THE REVOLUTION" is a woman's paper, devoted to the interests of woman. It is a strong advocate of Female Suffrage, which it considers will do away with many of the wrongs which unprotected women are, under our present laws, doomed to endure. The paper is well conducted, shows thought, energy and skill. Mrs. Stanton evidently understands "the situation," and is determined to work faithfully for the good of her own sex in this and coming generations.

Yes, sir, we understand "the situation." No reconstruction but on the basis of equal rights to all.

From the Journal and Herald, Springville, N. Y.

"THE REVOLUTION."—This periodical is urgently asking the friends of its principles to assist in extending its circulation. It is fearless and free, discusses all questions, particularly Female Suffrage.

Yes, sir, we are as free as air. We say just what we think (as all editors should), being the mouthpiece of no sect or party organization.

From the Tri-Weekly Publisher, Haverhill, Mass.

"THE REVOLUTION."—To make it a perfect success, Miss Anthony calls for one hundred thousand subscribers. Hope she may get them. All intelligent women should take it, for it is specially devoted to their interests. The leading editor, Mrs. Stanton, is one of the most brilliant women in the country, and as for Mr. Pillsbury, his ability is unquestioned.

In our French exchanges our New Hampshire Hercules is called Miss Pillsbury, and much surprise expressed at the vigor, reasoning power, and hard logic of our American women!

From the Picket, Rockville Centre, N. Y.

"THE REVOLUTION" is the title of an elegantly printed weekly publication, and is certainly one of the ablest and spickest prints of the day.

We really begin to think we lack solid substantial substance in our journal, for all the exchanges speak of our being "spicy." Too much spice is alike unhealthy and unpalatable, that is the reason no doubt the general run of our exchanges give us so little in return.

From the Corning Democrat.

"THE REVOLUTION."—Woman wronged! Yes, insulted, outraged, abused and ruined, soul and body." Such are the expressions that appear on nearly every page of Susan B. Anthony's "REVOLUTION." It is a large, well-printed journal, and as full of interesting, vehement balderdash as "Brick" Pomeroy's *La Crosse Democrat*. We say, "go in," and belabor the Radicals until they concede that a woman is just as good as a nigger.

That is the point. Every argument for the enfranchisement of the black man is an argument for woman also. We say, no reconstruction,

tion until our rulers are ready to let all disfranchised classes go into the kingdom together.

From the Mystic (Ct.) Pioneer.

"THE REVOLUTION," the organ of "Woman's Rights," is a handsomely printed sheet. It is a little two extreme for most persons, and lays all evils that fall to the lot of women to man's door for keeping from her the elective franchise. It is ably edited and contains many new ideas.

The everlasting protest of the human soul against all inequality is the source of all the upheavings and revolutions in society. It is not an evil at anybody's door, but the law of progress, that will lift us into a higher civilization.

From the Long Island (N. Y.) City Star.

"THE REVOLUTION" is certainly one of the ablest and spiciest prints of the day.

From the Johnstown (N. Y.) Independent.

It is a very neatly printed paper, and very spicy, independent, and decided in its matter. The paper sustains the reputation that women generally have, of being good talkers. It speaks with an air of authority, as women are wont to speak. It has for its motto, "Men, their rights, and nothing more; Women, their rights, and nothing less." The paper is ably edited.

We always look to a journal calling itself independent for clear, outspoken opinions on every question. Why did you not accompany your compliments to our manner and appearance with your views on the great question we advocate. As our native village has been the scene of several hot church contentions, and the women there have at last voted round the very horns of the altar, the men of Fulton county might as well unfurl their banners to the breeze for Universal Suffrage. We were amazed when we heard that the delegate from that district voted against striking the word "male" from the Constitution of N. Y., in the Constitutional Convention. That was a very ungenerous thing for you, Hon. Horace Smith, to do, seeing that you were elected elder of the Scotch Presbyterian church by the votes of over fifty women. If, sir, you do not believe in woman's voting, by what process of reason, or code of honor, do you accept office at their hands? We pause for a reply! Being a birth-right member of that church, and happening to be in Johnstown on the eventful day of that election, we voted for you. Oh! faithful Horace, imagine then how our trusting heart was lacerated when you betrayed the noble women of that district who sent in their petitions, 500 strong, for enfranchisement. Verily, there must be something in a name, for all the Horaces behaved badly in that convention. If the women of that district had done their duty for the last twenty years, we might have represented ourselves in the convention, and then the "males" would not only have been out of the constitution, but one-half of them out of the convention. Let the young women be ready for 1888.

From the Fayetteville (N. Y.) Weekly Record.

"THE REVOLUTION"—It is devoted to the discussion of all great social questions, and particularly of those relating to the social and political status of woman. It is conducted with marked ability, and is thorough and outspoken upon all the subjects it has under review. Its editors and contributors are evidently in earnest, and the paper is worthy of note and respect as a "sign of the times." It demonstrates the great social "revolution" that is going on, before which sink into insignificance the squabbles and scramblings of mere politicians, whose idea of progress and reform is embodied in the success of their party in grasping the control of the offices and the public purse. While we may not agree with all its conclusions, we would commend it to those who wish to keep up with the movements of the world.

It is wonderful how little note the heedless

world takes of the great revolutions going on about them, and how persistently they oppose every step of progress as if the moral world could stand still while the whole solar system is in Revolution. There is always a perfect analogy in the material and spiritual world.

From the Seneca Falls (N. Y.) Reville.

"THE REVOLUTION"—This is the name of a very sprightly and readable paper published in New York. Mrs. Stanton, editor, is well known here, and many of our readers are familiar with her writings. She wields a ready pen and her articles in "THE REVOLUTION" are refreshingly sharp and piquant. The paper seems to be a great success.

Seneca Falls will be remembered in history as the spot where the first Woman's Rights Convention was held in 1848. We wonder, with such a record, that we have not more subscribers from that region round about.

From the Daily Gazette, Reading, Pa.

"THE REVOLUTION"—Not the political revolution through which the country is passing, but "THE REVOLUTION," published by Miss Susan B. Anthony, has been received, and a model of typographical neatness it is. The editorials are written in savage, meat-axe style, but clothed in chaste and pure English. Miss Anthony says that she is anxious to speedily obtain a hundred thousand subscribers, and we have no doubt from the vim and energy she displays her wishes in this respect will be gratified. *Vive la Woman's Rights!* Perhaps she may yet become *Presidentess* of the United States! Who knows? Meanwhile, "go in," Susan, even if you do ray we of the male gender pretty severely over the knuckles.

"Savage, meat-axe style!" Why, dear friend, we of "THE REVOLUTION" are the most patient, charitable, long-suffering of all earthly editors. Look around you at the cruel wrongs of the poor and helpless; the mass of mankind slaves to their animal wants; labor everywhere under the heel of capital; women forced to prostitution for bread; little children starving in our streets; and then wonder not that we are earnest and vehement in speech. In view of the mighty sorrows of the race, smooth words would be out of time and place. The rich are shocked and galvanized into the new idea of humanity, into the meaning of Jesus's command to the young man who asked, what he should do to be saved: "Go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor; then come and follow me."

From the Daily Colorado Herald.

"THE REVOLUTION"—It is printed in good, clear type, on pure white paper, is about the size of the *Phrenological Journal*, and smells of musk. The rebuke contained in a single sidelong glance from an angry young wife is here diluted into a couple of columns of monstrous long words. If you smoke, or chew, or take an odd cocktail—if you don't go home in proper time—take "THE REVOLUTION," and you will find printed what your injured wife and once clear conscience would tell you. If you want to know who in particular is raising a row about the oppressed sex, and how delightfully comfortable the sex are where they can vote, take "THE REVOLUTION." We would advise all ladies, whether married or single, to take it. To the wives it will prove an exhaustless magazine of ugly, hard words and arguments which can be used at all times against refractory husbands. To the young maidens it will teach moderation when preparing to rush into the awful vortex of matrimony.

Musk! We are thorough homoeopaths and never use perfumes. As face answereth to face in a glass, so doth the Colorado *Herald* to the aims and purposes of "THE REVOLUTION." In all our exchanges we have not had a better summing up than this of the advantages that will accrue to society in taking our most excellent journal. So send in long lists of subscribers from the land of gold, game, gamblers and gentlemen.

From the Evening Courier, Newark, N. J.

We confess to a liking of Miss Susan B. Anthony's spicy "REVOLUTION," albeit we are not quite prepared to

accept all the theories it advances or to acquiesce in every proposition it lays down. But it is earnest and honest, and certainly there are no more admirable qualities in the catalogue of journalistic virtues. Its opinions, moreover, are put forth with plausibility and force which, in many instances carry conviction along with them. Its platform is squarely stated: "Principle, not policy; Justice, not favors; men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less." Miss Anthony wants one hundred thousand subscribers and ought to have them.

Good for New Jersey. The women of that State have settled the question of side-walk suffrage, and voted in Passaic, May, 1868.

#### WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY TO US.

NEW ORLEANS, May 6th, 1868.

*Editors of the Revolution:*

I wrote you during the last month to express my sympathy with your journal, the most sensible, the boldest and most honorable in the world. You have been so kind as to acknowledge the receipt of my letter by sending me, through Mr. Simon, several numbers of your paper. I thank you for it, but as I already subscribe for it at Mr. Simon's, it will be unnecessary to send me more. Those Nos. of which I have duplicates I have distributed among my acquaintances. We have received the first part of "L'Unité Universelle," by Charles Fourier, translated by our friend Mr. Brisbane. This author has always been a warm defender of Woman's Rights, and deserves our gratitude, and if you are of the same opinion, I shall be most happy to see that his noble name be often quoted in your journal. I send you a number of the *Saint* containing an unedited extract from the memoirs of Louise du Donon. If you consider it interesting you can reproduce it. Next week we shall send the MSS. of these memoirs to Mr. Brisbane, that he may submit it to your examination, and that he may ascertain whether you would like to publish them in English. He would give them to you in preference to any other American publication.

Your devoted

H. L. LOUIS.

We shall be glad to publish some of Mr. Brisbane's progressive opinions, and any translations you can send us from the memoirs of Louise Du Donon. We are greatly encouraged with the advanced opinions of most French writers on our question. If you refer to our late numbers you will find some admirable chapters by Augustus Comte, showing that the feminine element is the one link wanted to harmonize capital and labor.

NEBRASKA CITY, May 1st, 1868.

*Editors of the Revolution:*

Would you be kind enough to exchange with a paper published in the German language and in full sympathy and co-operation for the good work of Women's Rights? If so, send one copy to the Nebraska *Staats Zeitung*, and I will try to reciprocate by getting up a club of subscribers for you.

Respectfully,

T. RENNER,  
Ed. Nebraska *Staats Zeitung*.

Most gladly will we exchange with our German friend, though our exchange list is already too large for our profit, but if all our friends will get up clubs, we will print enough more to exchange with all who apply on both sides of the water.

IOWA CITY REPUBLICAN OFFICE, IOWA CITY, Ia.  
Iowa, May 3, 1868.

*Miss Anthony:* The Church needs a Revolution; the State should have a revolution; religion wants reason; politics wants common sense; and I want "THE REVOLUTION" for six months. Enclosed please find amount.

Respectfully, etc.

J. J. MINER.

You might as well have said six years, for the more you revolutionize, the more you will see to be done. We have begun a war against all kinds of slavery, not only of brute force but cunning legislation. The laboring classes are as completely slaves to-day in England, Russia, France and our Northern States as were the negroes on the Southern plantations before the war.

TOLEDO, Ohio, April 15, 1868.

MRS. E. C. STANTON : Although a stranger to you personally, I feel an acquaintance resulting from my interest in your cause.

I find the great obstacle to the success of our cause is conservatism mingled with the indifference of the women. I speak advisedly when I say indifference. Those God-forsaken, influential, fashionable women, with a soul scarcely above silks and diamonds, a mind devoted only to the last novel, the latest fashion or the next party, scorn alike their strong-minded sisters and the cause they advocate. They smile upon the men who advocate universal suffrage, such a sickly smile of contempt as must make you laugh to see it. Nevertheless, these women have an influence over a large class of men, and upon other women who fear to displease the world.

A flea is scarcely an atom of matter, yet it can bother the greatest minds.

A few women fear the "degradation of the sex in the political madrass ;" others fear that man will cease to "shelter and protect." Little they know of the meaning of these words. Can you say nothing to these women ? They, more than the men, hinder our cause. I have found in the range of my acquaintance among which is limited, I confess, not more than three earnest, fearless, advocates of Woman's Suffrage, while a dozen bitterly opposed and as many more indifferent, while the rest "feared the result of such a measure."

Why not organize "Woman Suffrage Clubs" all over the country, making them a political power and acting together.

I send two dollars for "THE REVOLUTION," and should like the back numbers to preserve in future years. I have given the old ones all away.

Miss Anthony has missed the figure for "THE REVOLUTION;" it should be one cipher more—1,000,000.

E. S. LATTY.

Oh ! yes, there is a work to be done for all these apathetic, heedless ones. We are publishing thousands of tracts to scatter all through the country, educating young women for speakers and circulating "THE REVOLUTION" in every nook and corner of the world. Your idea of the Suffrage Association is a good one. Let the women organize, organize ! Remember "those who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

Mar 5, 1868.

Mrs. S. B. ANTHONY—Esteemed Friend : I am truly delighted with "THE REVOLUTION," and heartily do I feel thankful for its appearance in the land, and cordially bid it God speed in the great and good work.

Truly, etc.

HARRY C. HAWKINS,  
Philadelphia.

Translated from the Paris, "L'Illustration," April 18<sup>th</sup>

MADAME ELIZABETH CADY STANTON : The woman whose portrait we give here, is one of the most remarkable promoters of the Equal Rights Association, recently established in the United States.

Madame Stanton is over fifty years of age, and possesses features of rare distinction—white hair, thick, curling naturally, and dressed with the greatest care. She wears, with much elegance, the feminine costume, not a man's hat and pantaloons, as ridicules may assert.

I met Madame Stanton at Omaha, on the Missouri, in the month of November, 1867. I was returning from a journey to the Colorado and the prairies of the far West. Madame Stanton was returning from Kansas, where she had made, with another American lady, Miss Susan B. Anthony, a campaign in behalf of Equal Rights.

I heard Madame Stanton and Miss Anthony in two meetings at Omaha, and I had the honor of accompanying them from Omaha to Chicago—a distance of five hundred miles. They held meetings in Chicago and in all the large cities of the Union. Their tour did not close until the 14th of December, 1867. They were accompanied by Mr. George Francis Train, the great American lecturer, the same who recently (Jan., 1868) was arrested at Cork in Ireland, as a Fenian.

Madame Stanton and all the promoters and adherents of the Equal Rights Association, demand that the women of the United States shall enjoy equal civil and political rights with men. Madame Stanton nominated herself as candidate for Congress from the city of New York.

At present we are forced to acknowledge that the Association does not count a great number of partisans, but the idea will germinate—will make its way. Let us not forget that we are *par excellence*, the country of progress ;

the country where all new ideas have the greatest opportunity, particularly if they are just, to develop themselves and become quickly popular.

#### EMANCIPATION OF TURKISH WOMEN.

From the "Messenger Franco American," translated expressly for "THE REVOLUTION."

We have received from a friend of the *Messenger* the following communication to which we call the attention of our readers :

The Empire of the Sultan is the greatest anomaly of the nineteenth century. America has been subjected to the recriminations of England for nearly a century, because of African slavery, but political moralists have not a word to say of the slavery of woman and the polygamy which prevail in Turkey. It is very true that there are Mormons in America, but they form only a little isolated community, and besides have been obliged to leave the states and withdraw themselves from public execration behind the Rocky Mountains. But Turkish Mormonism is a colossal institution, holding in its grasp 20,000,000 of women, and making civilization impossible while woman's dignity is trodden under foot and the social, political and moral atmosphere of the Orient is thus poisoned not only for the Turks but for the Levantines, who are more or less under the fatal effects of this gigantic immorality. The Levantines are already unfortunately enough situated with reference to all that concerns the rights of man and the dignity of the citizen. They are those men who are deprived of all the aspirations and ambition which cluster around the grand sentiment of patriotism, for they are men without a country.

They are under the protection of consuls to whose control they are subject. They are French, Italians, English, Maltese, Germans, Americans, Swiss, Greeks and Russians. They do not recognize the authority of Turkey and yet, in the countries which protect them, they are deprived of the privileges of native born citizens. The greatest part of this population, which, though foreign in Turkey, monopolises all the commerce and industry of the Ottoman Empire, does not even speak the language of the different countries from which it claims protection. Its foreign origin dating backwards several centuries, it is in fact more foreign to the countries from which it came than to Turkey itself. Yet the Sultan has no right to their allegiance. Their sovereign, if there be any, is the consul who represents their original nationality. It is the most independent population in the world, and pays no taxes to the Sultan or any other monarch. But this independence of all national obligations tends also to indifference to all national duties. They are, in a political sense, the eunuchs of the civilized world. Now, the demoralization which results from such a civic mutilation is aggravated by contact with the social demoralization of Turkey. Therefore the Levantines are represented frequently, as sullied with the vices both of Europe and Asia. That ambition which in civilized countries finds room for exercise in politics, literature, fine arts and social relations has no other opening in the Orient than in intrigue, money, games of chance and the degradation of woman. This degradation of woman not only affects the Turks themselves but attacks all those who have the misfortune to live in the Empire of the Sultan. One would expect that in view of such monstrous wrong there would be meeting after meeting at Exeter Hall and Tremont Temple, and that associations for the emancipation of Turkish women would be multiplied in Old and New England. There is nothing of the kind, however, simply because the Bosphorus is farther than the Potowm and the Thames. Philanthropy is silent because geography does not assist her efforts. It must be confessed that such resignation does not do great honor to philanthropy. Yet geography does not prevent the progress of missionaries. They are found teaching the truths of the Bible to the heathen, from Sumatra to the Feje Islands ; from Japan to Patagonia and the Cape of Good Hope. Zeal does not shrink from geographical distances. Perhaps we are waiting for the initiative to be taken by the Turkish women themselves. But though there are some who curse the yoke which condemns them to be merely the toys, beasts of burden and slaves to man's sensuality, they are not ready to follow the example of Mrs. Stanton and other lady emancipators of America. They are imprisoned in harems, and should they escape in order to organise an emancipation association at Stamboul or Brousse, they would be seized and put to death without any sort of trial. Besides, the cause of the negro was well plead, even though he, like Turkish women, was reduced to silence by a social condition which took away all liberty. Why not then plead the cause of the Turkish woman.

She is as nobly and richly endowed by nature as her sisters of America and Europe. One may talk of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. One may oppose the legitimate ambition of the Hellenic race, the ancient mistress of the Orient. One may boast of the reforms proposed by Tuad Pacha. To such an extent does the plague of polygamy exist in Turkey, that no reform is possible, since society is poisoned in its very beginning. Yet the Queen of England received the Sultan with much distinction, and the Pacha, who possesses unlimited power to destroy, buy and sell all the women in his Empire, is called "My good friend" by the virtuous wife of Prince Albert. Of all the anomalies of this country, there is none more revolting than the public and universal degradation of woman in a great European country.

#### WHAT WOMEN DID IN THE OLDE TIME

DRESSED IN SILKS AND LACES, WHO THINKS OF THE SONG OF THE SHIRT.—NO WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE SERAGLIO OF SAID PASHA.

FOUR COURTS MARSHALSEA, Dublin, May 2, 1868.

DEAR "REVOLUTION" : Shall come out on bail next week, and lecture in England and return in time to put firebrands to the tails of the Political Foxes.

Who thinks of the poor needle women when the rich meet in crowds ?

In a very few days, some six or seven thousand ladies will be gathered together in the Park of Trinity College to witness and adorn an annual festival of great and increasing interest. The thousands of new dresses and of new bonnets which our fair countrywomen will display on that occasion will, no doubt, contribute greatly to the *éclat* of the racers and gymnasts of the University ; but will, also, unless their fair wearers bestow some forethought on their working sisters, represent a vast amount of overwork, late hours, and injured health. We earnestly commend the subject to the timely consideration of the ladies of Dublin.

Higher wages will come when a woman will sell at the polls for the same price as a man.

The Viceroy of Egypt allows no voting in the Harem.

The unfortunate though guilty companions of the officers were, however, beyond the influence of outside sympathy, and are said to the number of six to have suffered in the last penalty for their infidelity ; one who had stood in a particular relation to the Pasha himself—the report goes—having met her fate at his own hands. There was yet another act in the fatal drama. At least three eunuchs are said to have been disposed of—how is not precisely stated, but flogging till all suffering was past, and then the inevitable river, are both mentioned.

How much better is our system ? Better die this way than live in Mercer street.

#### WHAT WOMEN USED TO DO.

From the Rev. Charles Kingsley's Book.

In the following description of the spirit which the times stirred among the wives, widows and daughters of the men, whose effeminacy and baseness is described by Ammianus Marcellinus :

"Women of the highest rank awoke suddenly to the discovery that life was given them for nobler purposes than that of frivolous enjoyment and dawdry vanity. Despising themselves ; despising the husbands to whom they had been wedded in loveless marriages *de convenance*, whose infidelities they had too often to endure ; they too, fled from a world which had sated and sickened them. They freed their slaves ; they gave away their wealth to found hospitals and to feed the poor ; and in voluntary poverty and mean garments they followed such men as Jerome and Ruffinus across the seas, to visit the new-found saints of the Egyptian desert, and to end their days, in some cases, in doleful monasteries in Palestine. The lives of Marcella and Furia, of Paula, of the Monian, and the rest, it is not my task to write. They must be told by a woman, not by a man. We may blame those ladies, if we will, for neglecting their duties. We may sneer, if we will, at the weakness—the aristocratic pride, the spiritual vanity—which we fancy that we discover. We may lament—and in that we shall not be wrong—the influence which such men as Jerome obtained over them—the example and precursor of so much which had since then been ruinous to family and social life ; but

we must confess that the fault lay not with the ladies themselves, but with their fathers, husbands, and brothers; we must confess that in these women the spirit of the old Roman matrons, which seemed to have been long dead, flashed up for one splendid moment, ere it sank into the darkness of the middle age; that in them woman asserted (however strangely and fantastically) her moral equality with man; and that at the very moment when monasticism was consigning her to contempt, almost to abhorrence, as 'the noxious animal,' 'the fragile vessel,' the cause of man's fall at first, and of his sin and misery ever since woman showed the monk (to his naively-confessed surprise) that she could dare, and suffer, and adore, as well as he."

You will have up-hill work against the Legal, the Clerical and the Medical Fraternity. They are all against you. They are the crutches with which diseased, discordant and disputant humanity hobble through the world. One takes your purse—the other your body—the other your soul.

The Devil Fish of Victor Hugo that enfolds woman, can only be killed by "THE REVOLUTION."

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

#### MORE "REVOLUTION."

"WHAT WILL you have, Madame?" said an apparently urbane stationer to us the other day, as we entered his shop to replenish our writing desk.

"A ream of foolscap, please, and "THE REVOLUTION."

"THE REVOLUTION," what is that?" said our gentleman, elevating his eyebrows. Taking it for granted that he was really ignorant of the existence of the sheet, we informed him who were its editors—where it was published—and what its particular mission.

"Yes, Madame, I have heard of it;" this with a significant nod and contemptuous grimace, "and I have never allowed it a place on my counter."

"Indeed," said we. "What particular fault have you found with the paper? Have you ever examined it?"

"No mam; and I never desire to! It is enough for me to know that its editors advocate Female Suffrage. What business have women with the ballot? What do the majority of women know about politics any way? Now Madame," continued he, striking an attitude—calculated to impress a woman unacquainted with this particular specimen of barn yard bantams, with an idea of his importance—"What rights and privileges do we suppose my wife desires more than she possesses?" The position of wife, mother and housekeeper fully satisfies her, and will continue to do so unless some hissfalutin Cady Stanton or George Francis Train come along and put it into her head that she is abused. Women are becoming too big for their clothes now-a-days."

"That is so, sir;" said we, in as calm a tone as I could assume. "They are entirely outgrowing the old garments of despotism! Women are waking up to the necessity of education, moral, spiritual and political. Women have been drudges, slaves, puppets, machines, long enough; now they claim the right as mothers to legislate for their children—as properly owners to hold their own, or dispose of it as they see fit; as laborers to receive equal compensation with those of the other sex; in short, sir, REVOLUTION has commenced; and the time is rapidly approaching when woman will not only be allowed a voice in all matters—but her opinion sought after."

"Not while I am alive, I hope, Madame;" said he, interrupting me; "not while I am alive. You have been in my store a good many times, Madame, and I never could have been made to believe that you were one of those horrible Woman's Rights advocates, if I had not heard it from your own lips. I am astonished!"

I laughingly left him to his surprise, confident that the bone I tossed for his picking was by no manner of means destitute of meat. I could not help but ask myself what sort of husband this man was. It he were kind and helpful; if he loved his wife and children? but mysteriously the home our imagination conjured up was not the paradise we should like to have believed it, because long experience has taught us that cruelty is the handmaid of ignorance; that domestic oppression ever walks side by side with moral intolerance and social injustice; and I determined to knock boldly at the door of that house and judge for myself.

So, I sent a copy of "THE REVOLUTION" to Mrs. ——, wife of this domineering stationer, with our compliments, street and number. I do not claim to have "my wonderful clairvoyant or prophetic ability, but that I should receive a call from that lady I were as cer-

tain as that I have taken bath my this morning. Sure enough! only a few days after, a wan, sweet-faced, intelligent woman, looking as if every particle of courage and vim had been systematically pumped out of her, called at our sanctum. Well! we could fill every column of this week's paper if we should attempt to give anything like a narration of the misery that woman has endured during fourteen years of married life. The mother of five children, compelled to work like the wife of the veriest pauper—oftentimes late into the night in order that her children may be decently clad—compelled to manage a large establishment, which it is necessary to keep up for appearances sake—compelled to give an account of every dollar, continually blamed for extravagance, and threatened with smaller rations. And then, to cap the climax of whose persecution and diabolical treatment, to be perfectly aware that her husband supports in luxury a mistress, whom every wish is law, and with whom the greater part of his leisure is spent. Sure enough! what privileges more than that woman possesses does she desire? Ah! my dear sir! "THE REVOLUTION" compasses that knowledge; and it is not our fault if your wife does not legally free herself from such a wretch, and say to her God: "I will try it alone! Give me strength to retrieve my lost womanhood!" The degradation resulting from a life of this description is too fearful to contemplate; and what but the knowledge that there is nothing on earth for a woman to do, whereby she can earn a respectable living for herself and darling, deters thousands from freedom? Talk about Southern slaves! We are glad they are emancipated, heaven knows; but slavery never was confined to blacks. Our sewing girls are slaves. The wives of our aristocracy are many of them slaves, occupying positions more menial, more degraded than the fettered negro ever dreamed of. Now, we have miniced matters long enough. Society has winked at evils it felt itself unable to remedy; but the good work is now inaugurated, and goes bravely on. Let us all keep our eyes and ears open, making the most of every opportunity to penetrate the rotten fabric, and unearth the multitude of evils which women have borne because they know no better, and teach them a practical solution of their difficulties. You who have suffered, you who are still suffering, look up. Be no longer afraid to speak the words of truth and soberness. Pitch in right and left with the sharp edge of free, earnest utterance. When our soul grows sick with the misery of hope deferred, when our heart aches, as it always has ached, ever since we were old enough to think, for poor fallen, suffering woman, when distressed with some new social aggravation which we are powerless to combat, we ask our Father to show us the way out quickly, a loving voice ever whispers, "REVOLUTION," and we are comforted.

"Imagination," is it? Well; have your own way. We know better.

#### WASHINGTON LETTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 9, 1868.

In a former letter I stated that the male clerks in the Government Departments "have organized a lobby to worry an appropriation through Congress increasing their pay twenty per cent, with the special provision that this shall not apply to female clerks." While this general statement is true, as several gentlemen of the Department are worth thereof, it is due that the matter should be further explained. It is claimed by these gentlemen that the clause "This shall not apply to female clerks" was added as an amendment by the committee to which the bill was referred, through the influence of certain Congressmen who are endeavoring to build up cheap reputations on the hobby of economy. But if the clerks did not originate the proscriptive clause, they cannot deny that they have accepted it and are making strenuous efforts to secure the passage of the bill.

I have seen a "Memorial to the Hon. the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled," setting forth in a very able manner the arguments in favor of an increase of salary. This memorial was prepared, in behalf of a committee of clerks representing the several Bureaus of the Treasury Department by Wm. D. O'Connor, a man of distinguished literary ability, and a well known author, now correspondent clerk in the Light House Bureau. Every word of this eloquent argument in favor of the proposed increase of salary applies generally to the women clerks. If, as the memorial states, owing to the extravagant cost of living in this city, "clerks receiving \$2,000 yearly must eat the bread of carelessness, and on \$1,200 the bread of poverty," what

kind of bread must the \$900 women and her children eat? If it must cost a man "with a family of four persons including himself \$100 per month to live on the simplest fare with two meals only per day," what description of fare and how many meals may the \$900 woman and her husband and family afford? It is well known that many of the women clerks support, not only children but also disabled and invalid husbands. One of whom I have heard, besides an aged husband, supports an invalid daughter of his by a former marriage. She is obliged to board in Alexandria, Va., as her \$900 per year does not permit her to pay the exorbitant rent in Washington. It is but just to state that this memorial of the clerks recognizes the fact that the cost of living is as great for the women clerks as for the men, and requests that the benefits of the proposed additional twenty per cent. shall be applied also to them. But why have they not insisted on this element of justice being incorporated in the bill? It would have strengthened it as justice always strengthens a cause, while the provision "This shall not apply to female clerks" has weakened it and should cause its defeat.

A certain clerk in the Treasury Department, it is said, is offended by the too faithful portrait drawn of him in my letter of March 9th, in the character of young Verysopt. It must be distinctly understood that these remarks were not intended to be personal. The distress of young Verysopt on this occasion has a parallel in the case of a conscience-stricken sinner, who, being unable to endure the faithful preaching of the gospel, jumped up in the middle of a sermon and vehemently denied that he was ever guilty of such sins as he had just heard denounced, when the preacher had no more reference to him, personally, than your correspondent had to the young gentleman in question. It must not be imagined that Verysopt is a fair specimen of the average government clerks, though as long as the present system is continued of rewarding political services by government patronage without reference to fitness, such men will always be found in office. It is well known that many public servants, men and women, are competent, diligent and faithful, upon whose capacity, fidelity and probity the government depends for the proper transaction of its stupendous business. These men and women, moreover, perform not only their own work, but also that of the incompetent and often better paid persons who are described in the character of Verysopt.

Nearly every Senator and Congressman acknowledges the justice of woman's plea for equal pay. Many of them seem very earnestly in favor of opening the graded clerkships to women on equal terms with men, and some profess a determination to make an attempt in this direction as soon as the Impeachment trial is over. R. E. Trowbridge, of Michigan, says, "It is a perfect abomination and an outrage on common sense to pay a woman less for the same work than the man by her side." Mr. Sitgreaves, M. C. from New Jersey, thinks that "women ought to have two-thirds, at least, of the clerkships in the departments. Mr. Scofield, of Pennsylvania, says there is a woman now employed in the Treasury Department, appointed on his recommendation, who is said to be worth more, as clerk, than any three men in the department. Her salary is less than one-half the highest salary paid a male clerk. And yet a hundred thousand women yearly pay their tax into treasury which thus discounts the labor of their sex fifty per cent! Rich and free America fostering a system which among the mothers and daughters of the land produces misery, want, sickness and prostitution.

Senator Morrill, of Maine, says "it is a confounded shame that women are not paid equally with men for the same work. Orris Ferry, of Connecticut, thinks "Intellectual women ought to be paid for their brain work as much as men," but in regard to a just payment of the class of women who are called the laboring class, he, as well as a number of others, has a great deal to say about "the law of supply and demand." They are willing to acknowledge a right it is not in their power to withhold. They cannot, if they would, prevent Mrs. Stowe receiving as much for a book as if she were a man, nor Rosa Bonheur for her pictures, nor Harriet Hosmer nor Vinnie Ream for their statues. Mr. Broome, of Pennsylvania, thinks the professions of teaching, preaching, law and medicine are equally suitable for women and men. His wife studied law, and he thinks "she takes a pride in giving an opinion on legal matters."

Senator Conness, of California, though acknowledging the right of woman to the ballot, cannot see that its possession will have any effect in improving her position as regards labor and compensation, any further than the agitation of the suffrage question by women may tend to remove the prejudices which enslave them. It may

make them willing to embrace new avenues of employment, heretofore occupied by men, in which they may regulate their own pay. There is no doubt but this is the way in which the perplexing question of "supply and demand" can be settled. Let women fit themselves to fill any position in life to which they may aspire. Besides the professions already named, there are many kinds of business well suited to women, for instance, that of merchant, mechanic, printer, editor, and, best of all, farmer. While the unnumbered and almost inexhaustible resources of this immense republican empire await development, if the strong men of the nation must monopolize sedentary business like that in the Government Departments, let women who desire employment buy land and cultivate it scientifically; let them be miners, engineers, and inventors (being careful always to take out patents in their own names). If they are poor and friendless they will, of course, find it a hard struggle with fate. The respectability and morality (I) of Christendom will be against them. If they undertake anything unfashionable they need expect little sympathy from their own sex. Senator Conness is right. "Women are enslaved by the laws of fashion as well as by the laws of the land." Obedience to these tyrannies and to the prejudices of ages has all but destroyed the self-respect of women, as well as deadened the consciences of men. Women work all day for half pay, and then accept from the well paid man as their just due, a seat in the crowded car which "gallantry" compels him to offer. She is satisfied apparently to receive "courtesy" instead of justice, the shadow for the substance. There is a class of women—slaves who buy their chains—narrow-minded and conventional, destitute alike of originality of thought and moral courage—from whom no earnest working woman need expect either material aid, moral support, or even bare recognition. But there are others who have learned to enlarge in some directions their spheres of thought and action, who profess to be "strong-minded" and are not so, who are as far from extending a helping hand or word of encouragement to a sister woman as the most cringing slave who drags her train of satin after her through the mud, and says, "I have all the rights I want." When Mrs. Swishelm published, two years ago, her bitter and unwomanly criticisms of Vinnie Ream, the young artist, she lowered herself immeasurably in the estimation of her best friends. These criticisms were full of, and based on, the most frivolous slanders, possessing not a shadow of truth.

Vinnie Ream was formerly a clerk in the Post Office Department, working for half pay, like the other women clerks, until the inspiration of genius pointed out to her a new path, rugged and thorny enough at first, but leading, it is to be hoped, to a bright future. By dint of hard study and the most untiring industry she has succeeded in obtaining and deserving a name, and an acknowledged position as an artist, despite the slanders of Mrs. Swishelm, and writers of that class, with whom her youth, beauty, and attractiveness are her chief faults. It would seem that they must consider any appreciation which another woman receives as just so much of honor and fame detracted from themselves.

Every demonstration of genius by a woman should be hailed by her sisters with joy. Women should rejoice at every evidence that the slaveries of fashion and false education have not entirely extinguished in her sex the fire of genius. No true woman will cast the shadow of an obstacle in the way of a toiling sister, and no woman with any degree of self-respect will pander to that vicious appetite for slander, which, like a hideous ulcer, consumes the vitals of society. JULIA ARCHIBALD.

WASHINGTON, May 11th, 1868.

SOME weeks since I wrote you that the friends of Equal Suffrage were about to make use of the pending revision of the government of the District to move Congress and the people in favor of the enfranchisement of the twenty-five thousand women of the District. The good work has begun. Two meetings have been held of the Universal Franchise Association. The first was addressed by Mrs. Griffing, Prof. Willcox, J. H. Crane, Miss Lydia S. Hall, Prof. Wm. J. Wilson (colored) and Dr. Wm. Boyd. The second was mainly an able and eloquent lecture on the evils under which women suffer, by Mrs. Wilhelm, M.D., a Spiritualist, of Philadelphia. At the first meeting resolutions were offered by Prof. Willcox and unanimously adopted, protesting against the continuance of the concentration of political power in the hands of an aristocracy composed of one sex to the exclusion of the other, as tending to social misery; against a property qualification, as depriving of political power those who need it most; and against the proposition pending in Congress to abolish elective government in the District, as tending to re-enact the disfran-

chisement of women. A memorial drafted by him has also been adopted, and a committee of twenty-two leading residents of the District has been chosen to present it to Congress. A series of free discussions like those in Worcester has also been inaugurated, with very good results, of which I will give particulars hereafter.

To-day, Hon. Henry D. Washburn presented in the House the petition of eighty women of the District, praying Congress to protect them from being debarred the exercise of the right of suffrage, accompanied by a bill which provides "that from and after the passage of this act no person shall be debarred from voting or holding office in the District of Columbia by reason of sex". Both were referred, under the rules, to the Committee on the District. Many more petitions from within will follow this first, and the committee of memorialists will urge on the committee of Congress, action in accordance with the prayer of the petitioners.

OBSERVER.

#### A MOTHER TO A DAUGHTER.

NO. V.

In criticising the present style of dress I have not yet spoken of the tight waist so generally worn, and which terribly confines the organs of the chest.

A glance at a plate of the internal economy of our frame will show that the stomach, liver, heart, lungs, etc., are packed together as closely as they can be, and external pressure only interferes with the discharge of their duties. They are not only rendered inactive, thus deranging the wondrous play of the living forces that magnetize the brain, and give elasticity and enjoyment to the animal life, but they are crowded out of place, causing diseases without number, and untold misery in future life.

I am happy to say that you have never yet worn a tight waist or a corset, but it is the ambition of almost every young miss to convert herself into a milliner's lay figure as soon as possible. "Oh! I never lace—just examine for yourself," she says; and sure enough, by expelling every bit of breath from her poor, half-filled lungs, you can insert two fingers next her contracted ribs. Her waist of eighteen or nineteen inches span, is sweetly sun-dial in shape, and as she minces along like an elongated wasp, she little realizes that her lungs, squeezed dry of air, cannot half vitalize her blood, that her heart is forced to overaction, and her extremities chilled and shrunken in consequence of feeble circulation, and the organs of digestion displaced and weakened. How little reserved strength she has to fall back upon in the exigencies that arise in life! Poor blood and a poor circulation produce a poorer brain, and a starved, withered soul.

But, happily for our future, the number of girls is constantly increasing who have been taught that every muscle of the body needs daily exercise to produce that change by which the worn-out, useless materials are thrown out and fresh ones supplied with life-giving elements sifting through every tiny capillary; that every organ demands proper working-room and its own proportion of freshly oxygenated life-fluid. Then, with that enriched by well-digested food, the involuntary action of the system shall be regular, and health follow as a natural sequence.

In making a loose waist, it should never be long on the shoulder. That prevents the free motion of the arms. Let it fit sufficiently to define but not conceal the figure, always following the outlines of the form.

Our clothing should invariably suit the place, age and the occasion. Nothing seems more unseemly than to see a variety of gaudy colors on the streets. They are liable to injury from the sun or weather, and it is anything but modest to trick one's self out to attract attention. Above all, a young girl should discard finery and elaborate display. Her costume, youthful and fresh as befit her years, needs few and unobtrusive ornaments. A young, sweet face, a frank and winning manner, should throw dress into the background, unless on special occasions.

It is sad to see young girls aping world-worn women, overloading the innocence of girlhood by trappings that are first donned to conceal the ravages which empty years and repinings always leave upon the face.

Jewelry should be sparingly used, and never in a place where it is not necessary, as in a pin or brooch. Earrings are but relics of barbarism. It may have suited a Zenobia, clad in gorgeous eastern raiment and tied to her conqueror's chariot by chains of gold, to load her ears with precious jewels, but it hardly suits a maiden of the nineteenth century.

Nor would I have you discard bright colors and tasteful attire. On the contrary, it is your right to wear

whatever adorns but does not cumber your youthfulness. In the golden glory of your opening life, take what you need of the beautiful to yourself, only let it be chaste and secondary to your form and figure. But the sparkle of your eye and the bloom of your cheek are far above other ornaments. Be first careful that more ennobling pursuits occupy their true place in your thoughts; then the shade of a ribbon or style of a dress will appear, as it is, secondary to your amiability, your love of Truth and diligence in seeking it.

The truths that most intimately concern us now, are in relation to our physical development, and of the spiritual through the physical. For we are living machines, finely wrought and sensitive to all influences that tamper with our working. Every part shows such exquisite design and workmanship, and is so perfect in its adaptation to every other part, that we are lost in admiration of its design and execution. What a divine intelligence has adjusted all this intricate mechanism, and how conscientious ought we to be in giving every part opportunity to discharge its natural function! Are we not constantly taught to look through "nature up to nature's God." Study any one organ, as the eye: observe its coatings, its humors and its lens; see the photograph that light stamps upon the retina, every color producing wave-vibrations of ether of a different length from every other color, and carrying a different sensation to the brain, and you have one little instance that we are "fearfully and wonderfully made."

Imagination can conceive nothing finer or more beautiful than every process that takes place in the human economy. The body is the most perfect object of which we have any knowledge, and its loveliest manifestation is in woman. Her form is musical in its proportions and in the flow of its outlines. But when we think of it as penetrated and vivified by an immortal spirit, which glows like a star in the brain, and sends its subtle messengers to every pore, by its telegraphic wires, the nerves; that this spirit is a spark of the Eternal Divine, an embodying in form of the One Soul that broods over all nature; then we feel inspired to make our lives more and more in accord with the Divine Life. Then, no more dwarfing and cramming and torturing! Let us reverence ourselves even in our bodies. They should be temples of the Holy Ghost, to be kept pure and sweet, as is meet for such a guest!

The immoral doctrine that sickness is a dispensation of Providence, to which we must blindly submit, is vanishing with a thousand other superstitions. Our Heavenly Father works through laws, unchangeable and harmonious. Obey, and you receive the natural reward. Disobey and punishment unfailingly follows. He works in and through these laws and as far as we get in harmony with those principles that rule the natural, mental and moral domains, so far we are doing His will. And we must be faithful and intelligent in making use of the light that science casts upon the operations of elements and forces.

Then, oh, maiden! fresh from the fount of all life and being! in your form let grace and freedom be incarnate. Let love, sweetness and purity sanctify the home of flesh and blood and bone in which you dwell. In your organic nature you embody a higher possibility than is found in any other form. To you it is given to be a perpetuator of immortals! You need all the brain and heart you can get, to work out the unsolved problem of a perfect womanhood. You must express self-regulated freedom, in a purity that shall shame to tingling silence all base desires, and in a lovely, sisterly nature till it reaches alike to the physically and the spiritually diseased, baptizing them with the love that seeketh to bless and save. The quenchless aspiration, the lofty endeavor, cannot contain itself in a pinched conventional form. The world, to-day, is suffering for WOMEN broad, large-hearted and wise. H. M. F. P.

New Brunswick, N. J., May, 1868.

#### SOCIAL SURGERY.

SECOND ARTICLE.

In a former article under this head was stated one of the first conditions from which prostitution could follow as an easy and nearly natural result.

It would be an impossible task to attempt a statement of the circumstances which makes the transition from one bad condition to a worse imperceptible till the culmination is before us in the shape of some dreadful calamity; and were it done in one instance, they could not apply save by the merest chance to two lives.

Suffice to say that every incident is the result of all that has preceded it, and that incident, however trifling, becomes in its turn a cause whose ramifications, if evil, spread out in all directions like the deadly Upas! And

this brings us back to the first proposition, namely : That parents are to be blamed or praised as the case may be for the lives of their children. Before proceeding farther, however, it seems necessary to state a fact, which, lying like a dark back-ground behind all this, serves to give prominence and repulsiveness to the heart-sickening details, and deserves special notice for the sake of the unborn. Are not children as likely to inherit the moral as the physical features of parents ?

Impure parents then produce impure children ; and nowhere is this ghastly fact more clearly stated than by Dr. John O. Stone, in the Report of the Board of Health for 1867, page 300. He says : " Their children are born diseased, wrinkled, covered with eruptions and affected with a wheezing cough and catarrh ; \* \* \* every part of the body is affected—the skin, brain, eyes, throat, nose, lungs and bones."

These outward indications are frightful enough, but how much more frightful to contemplate the necessarily proportionate hideousness of the moral nature !

This allusion is made in order to show the redoubled efforts needful to control and modify the evils of parental self-abuse, which, like a nemesis, is reproduced to them in aggravated form by their children.

Such beings come into the world prepared to absorb all the evil with which they come in contact, with no power to resist the invasion save that imparted by careful and judicious training. How great the number of parents who fail in this all-important point is proved by the fact that the first impression given by two children out of every three, is that of neglected culture.

The majority of children possess, either by inheritance or bad example, a sensualism out of all proportion to other qualities of the mind, which develops by continued abuse into numerous diseases not social or confined to one sex, the real names of which parents never hear from their physician. But that result is seemingly so remote from the true cause as to be overlooked, or if suspected, would be vehemently denied by parents ; the more apparent result is to unfit the possessor for any society save that which permits the greatest license to the worst passions. Girls born with this pre-disposition or even without it, are prone to forwardness ; and the girl who is guilty of an immodest act, however slight, has taken the first step toward shamelessness.

She may go no farther than that, she may remain modest and not become immoral, but she will owe her escape to accident rather than design, for seduction would be easy of accomplishment to the man for whom the act was committed. If such girls could hear the disgusting boasts, or scathing remarks made by the very ones who smile encouragement, a reprimand would be superfluous. A girl's character is as susceptible of blemish as the soft velvety down of a ripe peach which shows the impress of the lightest finger-touch, and so, a question raised as to the strict propriety of her conduct is a taunt which exposes her to the advances of the libertine.

Weak-brained mothers think they have accomplished a *soup de grace* in the way of extonation for overt acts in children by saying, "they are so innocent! they know no better," when in reality they are pronouncing a just but most damning evidence against themselves; a confession in short of their own unwarrantable neglect or ignorance.

There is harm in every act which can lead to harm, and wise parents will make that principle the basis of their government ; they should also hasten to forestall the invidious poison of possible evil associates by imparting information unreservedly, coupled with wise counsel, upon all subjects of curiosity. The day for mystery with children, or the possibility of keeping them babes in mind till they reach the stature of maturity, has long since passed (if it ever existed), and, if they are driven from home to glean the knowledge which parents taboo, they are sure to gather a larger percentage of evil than actually belong to the facts, by bad example.

A modest bearing and unblemished reputation, even if it be the outgrowth of precocity, is far more valuable to a girl than the innocence of ignorance which exhibits itself in vulgarity and rudeness ; acts which are seldom attributed to the true cause.

If I seem to deal abstractly with this vital question, there is full justification in the fact that first causes can here be full justification in the fact that first causes can scarcely be overestimated.

S. F. A.

ONE MORE [UN] FORTUNATE.—Mrs. Jane Clark, of South Deerfield, Mass., who was sent to the insane asylum at Northampton by her husband, last week, has been taken in charge by her friends, the case having come to trial, and she proved not to have been insane.

## WOMAN AN INVENTOR.

### ARTICLE II.

SILK INVENTED BY A WOMAN.—GAUZE, STRAW BRAIDING, ETC., ETC.

WHILE this article was in course of preparation, the Report to the Department of State on Silk and Silk Manufactures, made by the United States Commissioner to the Paris Exposition was brought into my house. I was glad to find that justice to the inventive genius of woman had been done in that report by giving her the meed of notice her due as the inventor of silk fabrics, but there are points not mentioned by Mr. Codwin upon which I wish to touch.

In the theory of political economy propounded by a Frenchman a few years ago, he mentioned that only those who brought into use the properties of nature contained in the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, would be considered as the increasers of wealth in the community. The more salesmen or bands through which these useful commodities passed, he called non-producers.

It is easy for us to see that the community which, under enlightened direction, by means of labor-saving machinery like the cotton gin, or by a method of making some heretofore valueless product into a widely useful material, as silk, has within itself an element of success which, if pursued, cannot fail to give it a high place among nations, and by its wide-spread diffusion into other countries have great influence in elevating the whole world.

Since the invention of silken fabrics by the Chinese Empress, Si-ling-chi, between three and four thousand years ago, silk has stood next to rice in causing the unparalleled prosperity of China—a country which has no public debt, and which supports a surprisingly numerous population. Even at the present time, silk furnishes material for more than half the clothing of that great empire, where cotton was unknown till within about eight hundred years, and where, had it not been for the fortunate invention of the former, poverty and suffering would long since have blotted the nation from existence.

After the introduction of silk to the notice of the Europeans, during the reign of Alexander the Great, it formed a great article of commerce between China and many European nations, and caravans laden with the fabric were accompanied by armed escorts.

Aristotle is one of the first European writers to mention it. It was then called Ser, from the portion of China where it originated, and from whence Pliny says, the Roman ladies received their *veries sericae*.

Not long after Ser was introduced into Europe it was, Penelope like, unwoven by Pamphila, a woman of the island of Coz, and re-manufactured by her into a transparent fabric known to the Roman ladies as *coa veris*, and to moderns as *cam*. Here we have the invention of silk gauze. Cam and decar, one of silk and the other of cotton, were the two most diaphanous fabrics manufactured by ancient nations, and so fine and transparent were they that each in turn was known as "the woven wind." Yet as transparent as was cam, it was firm enough to take beautiful colors and to be adorned with embroidery and threads of gold.

So sensible were the Chinese of the benefit accruing to their empire by the invention of silk that the Si-ling-chi was deified under the name of Sien Trham, or first promoter of silk industry, and the later Empresses sacrifice to her memory. As the Emperor annually holds the plow, by his example to dignify labor and promote the cultivation of the soil, upon one of the products by which (rice) the prosperity of his empire so much depends, so for the same cause does the Empress annually visit the broods of silk-worms, and by her personal interest and inspection, encourage industry, and promote attention to that other staple, upon which, almost equally with rice, the stability of the empire rests.

Not only has China been so materially benefitted by the invention of silk, but within the last few hundred years, Italy, France, Spain, England and other nations have derived an immense revenue from its manufacture. More than thirty years ago, the estimated yearly profit of France upon silk, was more than \$7,000,000, and in Mr. Codwin's report the value of the raw material now produced in that country is estimated at \$25,600,000.

The revenue of a country is the life-blood of the state which circulates through its whole machinery during both peace and war, and enables it to execute vast works of national improvement, to encourage industry, to promote the arts, to maintain an educational fund, and in various ways contribute to the prosperity of the people.

Our country, with its large boundary, varied climate, immense water power, and uncounted mineral wealth,

will soon stand foremost in the world as a manufacturing country.

We learn from the report on the eighth census, that the products of manufacture between 1850 and 1860 increased at the rate of eighty-six per cent., or about double to the increase in the productions of agriculture. Still, in a very great measure one is dependent upon the other, and especially does the increase of agricultural products depend upon mechanical inventions. The increase of population itself, does not exert equal influence on the cultivation of the soil with a new and important invention, although Gibbon says that the Romans affirmed that with the improvement of arts, the human species was visibly multiplied.

The straw business of this country is a rapidly increasing one. This fact cannot fail to impress itself upon the mind of every person who notices the varied styles of hats both for men and women, the frequent changes and the almost absolute universality with which, in some form, they are worn. The first straw bonnet manufactured in the United States was braided in 1798 by Miss Betsy Metcalf, of Providence, R. I. The imported Dunstable, at that time the chief wear, were costly ; Miss Metcalf saw one in a store in Providence, and carrying the pattern home in her eye, sat down to produce a similar one. This was the first step towards a great branch of industry which increased so rapidly that in 1810, only twelve years after Miss Metcalf made her bonnet, the estimated value of straw bonnets manufactured in Massachusetts alone was \$551,984, or over half a million of dollars added to the wealth of one State alone by the genius of woman.

Massachusetts now employs ten thousand (10,000) persons in the business, and produces six million (6,000,000) hats and bonnets annually.

A great deal of straw braid is also manufactured in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia alone has a business in it estimated at \$600,000, or \$350,000 for hats and \$250,000 for bonnets.

A fac-simile of the original bonnet made by Mrs. Baker, nee Metcalf, is preserved in the collection of the Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry.

A hat made from the long leaves of the Southern pine was exhibited at the fair of the American Institute, in 1860, by a Miss Hudson, of Long Island, and received high commendation from the Institute from its capability of being made another valuable branch of domestic manufacture.

In the language of another, "the social and political relations of man are mainly formed and controlled through the influence of industry applied to the production of material wealth." \* \* \* The degree of influence exerted by a particular product can only be appreciated by a consideration of all its relations, including a knowledge of a dependence upon each other of the different branches of industry and production."

In this present article I have endeavored to show the bearing the manufacture of silk has had upon the permanence of a magnificent empire, and the influence it exerts upon the material prosperity of many others. In my previous article I spoke of the immense benefit to the manufacturing interests of the country the cotton gin has proved, increasing not only the wealth of individuals, but the revenue of the country many hundred fold. The recent repeal of the tax on the raw material has taken from the revenue eighty millions of dollars annually.

There is scarcely a child that needs to be taught the great influence cotton has had, not only on the social, but on the political status of our country.

These two inventions by women, silk and the cotton gin, have done much to build up the state, to define social and political position and to further the interests of mankind, and no brain is so prophetic, no eye so far-seeing, as yet to discern when their influence shall cease.

M. E. JOSLYN GAGE.

P. S.—In my former letter, you made me say "Northern States were languishing," instead of *Southern*.

**CONSULTATION WITH FEMALE MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS.**—At the meeting of the National Medical Association at Washington last week the Committee on Medical Ethics made a report on the question of consultation with female practitioners, which lies over for action and closes as follows :

"Resolved, That the question of sex has never been considered by this association in connection with consultations among medical practitioners, and that in the opinion of this meeting every member of this body has the perfect right to consult with any one who presents the only presumptive evidence of professional abilities and requirements required by this association, viz.: a regular medical education."

# The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Editors.  
PARKER PILLSBURY,  
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, MAY 21, 1868.

## THE LAST REPUBLICAN LAMP HAS GONE OUT.

ANDREW JOHNSON is acquitted, and the moral and material world revolve precisely as before, precisely as they would have done had he been convicted. Republicans elected Andrew Johnson for party success; they impeached him for party success; and since the day the sceptre of power came into their hands, they have worked for party success rather than the nation's life.

While they have deceived the people with the cry of constitutional amendments, loyalty, negro suffrage, impeachment, they have shown themselves disloyal to the grand principles of our government, by their attempts to drag down the Federal Constitution to their low platform; to force negro suffrage on the South while repudiating it in the Northern states; and after proving the President guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, strangling impeachment with their own hands.

And now the handwriting on the wall warns them that they are "weighed in the balance and found wanting." The republican party stands to-day with its ranks broken, divided, distracted, blasted and the sceptre of power has passed from it forever. But this is no cause of sorrow, for the sooner this party is scattered to the four winds of heaven, the sooner will the scales fall from the eyes of the people, and they will see that their rulers have been but blind leaders of the blind. God, in his wisdom, has given the American people the problem of self-government to solve on this continent. In the history of the long past; in the wreck of all the nations that have lived upon the globe; and in our own experience in the last century, we see that EQUALITY is the vital element of national life: that no government is worth the loss of one drop of blood, or ounce of gold, that does not secure to every citizen, black and white, male and female, life, liberty and happiness.

Jeremy Bentham says, "the people cannot be too distrustful of their rulers." When the American people learn that men and parties are nothing unless based on principle, and that whether under a republican or democratic dynasty, we have the same results, they will awake to the responsibility of self-government.

As we turn over the pages of history we can see how other nations, groaning under taxation, ignorance, and poverty, have been deluded, blinded and destroyed, without dreaming that we, ourselves, are to-day the thoughtless victims of selfish and crafty rulers who think only of their own aggrandizement. Just as Rome, with fêtes and feasts, with holidays and deadly combats between man and beast, with gladiatorial exhibitions in crowded amphitheatres, turned the peoples thought from their own wrongs, so do our rulers to-day, with caucuses, conventions, campaigns, impeachment trials and the coarse brutality of the press and politicians amuse the people, degrade the public taste, and destroy the virtue of the nation. Unthinking leaders inflame the North against all rebellion, and damn every man who dares put in a plea

for justice and mercy to the South, with the unmeaning name of "copperhead." To rouse the people's wrath they point them to the bones of their brave sires and sons bleaching on all those southern plains, forgetting that with their own hands they built that sepulchre where our brave dead now sleep. The chain that held the black boy in the everglades of Florida and the slave girl in a New Orleans market was fastened round the neck of New England's sons and daughters. Through our avarice and selfishness the land of orange groves and flowers lies bleeding and desolate to-day. Blame not the South, but our own constitutions, creeds, and codes. We are now all alike suffering the just retributions of violated law. The South sent us her sons and daughters to train in our colleges and schools, but we loved cotton better than their children's souls, and hid from them the truth of God. We even taught our children with bated breath to lisp the name of Liberty to them. We sent them books with all the truths they needed most struck out. We sent them ministers to preach God's word, and they with shameless haste prostituted themselves, the Bible, God and humanity before the idol slavery. At last our own falsehood to principle brought war and death. When, mid the storm and the whirlwind, the lightning's flash revealed emancipation in silver lines on the dark clouds above us, we inscribed it on our banners and victory was ours. Above the din of arms, the cannon's roar, the wailing of mothers for their first born arose soft and clear, to those who had ears to hear, the divine symphony "all men are created equal." Had we then written in our constitutions the idea we had twice baptized in blood, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE would have been the crowning proclamation securing peace and prosperity to the whole people.

But while we ended with the sword a slavery of brute force, and overturned the Southern oligarchy, by cunning legislation, we have substituted another form of slavery, in our new system of finance. In our national debt and taxation, we have placed the whole labor of the country at the mercy of a monied aristocracy of banks, bondholders, and land monopolists. Having just escaped from the yoke of 400,000 slaveholders, we are about to bow our necks to the yoke of 400,000 bondholders. Flushed with conquest, these "High Art Swindlers" have bought up the nation's virtue and choked our prophets who have dared to speak. The few who have struck the key note of reconstruction in "universal suffrage and universal amnesty" have been silenced or condemned.

Abraham Lincoln saw that this was the true policy and counselled it in private. But he was influenced by those who misjudged the signs of the times, and for the success of his party and his own re-election, he yielded to weak counsellors, and fell by the hand of the assassin. "Whosoever would save his life shall lose it."

Horace Greeley with the suffering and humiliation of the South, as well as the guilt and selfishness of the North before him, declared "Universal Suffrage and universal amnesty" to be the true basis of reconstruction four years ago. But not being ready for martyrdom, a few cracks of the party whip brought him into line.

Henry Ward Beecher uttered the same policy in that able letter which called down upon him the nation's scorn and denunciation, for which he was stabbed by the friends of his own household. He has been the one leading man in the nation who, in all his public speeches, has de-

manded universal suffrage in the reconstruction. The success or defeat of the republican party, the acquittal or conviction of Andrew Johnson are of little consequence at this hour; but what shall be the basis of our government is the solemn question for the American people to answer, and forever.

Let the republican party, in its last hours, do works meet for repentance.

Let Congress now secure a republican form of government to every state in the Union, and begin by so amending the District of Columbia Suffrage bill, as to place the ballot in the hand of every citizen, male and female, and thus try the first experiment of self-government that the world has seen, where the American flag floats from the dome of its national Capitol.

We say to-day, as we have said ever since the close of the war, "Universal Suffrage and Universal Amnesty" is the true basis of reconstruction.

E. C. B.

## ENFRANCHISEMENT IN THE DISTRICT.

### To the friends of Equal Rights:

The whole government of the District of Columbia is to be revised by Congress, in consequence of the expiration of local charters, within the next nine months. A rare opportunity is thus afforded to bring the enfranchisement of woman to the attention of Congress and the country. We urge you to send in petitions as fast as possible, with as many signatures as you can obtain. They should be sent to Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, 394 North Capitol street, or to Prof. J. K. H. Willcox, Ebbitt House, Washington, D. C., who will acknowledge their receipt and attend to their presentation.

### FORM OF PETITION.

(It is recommended that women's names appear on separate lists.)

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress Assembled:

The undersigned \_\_\_\_\_, of the \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_, in the State of \_\_\_\_\_, respectfully petition, that in your revision of the government of the District of Columbia, you will protect the women of the District from being debarred the exercise of their right of suffrage.

## OFFICIAL CORRUPTION.

INCAPACITY, neglect of the public interests, and venality and corruption, characterize to an alarming degree the office-holders of the country, and particularly those charged with the performance of legislative duties. To such an extent do robbery and jobbery, peculation and bribery permeate our national and many of our state capitols, as well as the Council Boards of some of our large cities, that we are rapidly reaching a period when to be a member of either will afford as strong a presumption of guilt and be regarded as about as damaging to one's reputation, as to be found within the walls of a penitentiary. Even now there are thousands of persons in the state of New York, and thousands in this city, who would deem it as dark a stain upon their characters to be elected an Assemblyman or an Alderman, as they would to be arraigned in the Court of Sessions for picking a pocket, or stealing a horse.

The charges of bribery and corruption hurled from all quarters against Congress, the Legislatures of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and the Common Councils of this city and Philadelphia, and which everybody believes, and which the implicated parties do not even take the trouble to deny, prove that political virtue in our country is rapidly becoming an obsolete phrase. Leading members of Congress rise in their places and charge each other with venal practices that would make a burglar

blush; they write letters to the public journals denouncing one another for infamous crimes; they utter their allegations in their own hall under the guise of "personal explanations," and there, in the presence of the people, they place upon the enduring records of the nation, speeches that would disgrace the veriest drabs that ever cursed in a fish market, the whole House cheering on the wranglers with shouts of laughter, and entertaining with the keenest zest the final proposal of the most vulgar of the disputants, that they adjourn and "take a drink" at his expense. Gentlemen of the House of Representatives: You do not expel such members from your hall; but be it known to you that common decency spews them out of its mouth. Steal from the treasury if you must; your constituents expect you to do that; but they entreat you, in your official intercourse with each other, to exhibit that honorable bearing which proverbially prevails among thieves.

The legislatures of New York and Pennsylvania have for many years been regarded as mere mines for robbery and rascality to enrich themselves in. Perhaps the most corrupt body that ever existed annually meets at Albany. Its members have become shameless in their infamy. They will pocket the wages of iniquity, and smile, while some indignant spectator at their elbows in denouncing them as robbers. If hard pressed by public clamor, they will appoint a committee to investigate the charges, and will select some sly scoundrel for chairman, with a set of colleagues of like type, who, in due time, will bring in a verdict of not guilty, whereas the lobby leers and jeers, while the public averts its head with shame and disgust, the thieves after this short respite, working their placers with renewed vigor.

The quarrel between Vanderbilt and Drew afforded unusual largesses to the men of thieving propensities at our state capitol. It has been openly alleged that certain senators and assemblymen received thousands of dollars for their votes on the one side and the other of that controversy; and nobody doubts it. It is notorious that no bill which affects the interests of private persons, or corporations, or municipalities—no measure, in fact, which is not strictly of a public nature, can be passed without the expenditure of money, and in some instances the amount exacted is ruinously large, rendering it extremely onerous to procure the passage of any private act, and almost impossible to get any important measure through unless its promoters can afford to bleed freely. This Drew-Vanderbilt imbroglio has also given occasion to much scandal respecting our courts of justice. It is asserted that bribery soils the ermine. The mere fact that the bar of this city gives full credence to the assertion, shows the extent to which this evil has reached.

The common council of New York long ago won from those who affect the nomenclature of the theatre, the cognomen of "The Forty Thieves," while those who perpetrate puns call them the "Common Scoundrels." So rare has it become to find an honest man in either branch of this notorious body, that when one is discovered he is regarded like the fly in the amber—something obviously out of place. The members of this board, as well as of the Board of Supervisors in this city, have the control of many millions of the public money. That they recklessly waste much of it upon needless jobs, that they scatter much among hungry favorites, that they corruptly line their own pockets with hundreds of thousands annually, nobody even affects to question.

As a necessary appendage to these villainous practices, holding to them the anomalous relation of both parent and offspring, is that hydra of iniquity, the lobby. Lobbying at Albany, at Harrisburg, at Trenton, at Boston, at Washington, has become a regular profession. Men of education and of wealth, of social distinction and courtly manners, in common with adventurers, gamblers and prostitutes, pursue no other avocation. They are the go-betweens, the stakeholders, the common agents, of both the contracting parties in venal legislation. They take the money of the promoters of plundering projects, and according to agreement pay a portion to the officials for their votes and pocket the remainder for their own services. But we need not dwell upon facts, as humiliating as they are notorious, nor multiply examples to prove what everybody admits to be true.

Is there no cure for this virus, which permeates every part of the body politic, poisoning its life currents, palsying its vital functions, and threatening it with premature decay and ultimate death? Shall that great mass of the people who neither seek nor hold office, cower in the presence of this national crime, and fold their hands in mute despair, hopeless alike of retribution or reform? What shall be done, what can be done, to stay the tide which is slowly but surely sweeping away public virtue and undermining our Republican form of government? Penalties, whether prescribed by constitutions or by statutes, do not meet the exigency; for, they are for the most part framed by the very men whom they are designed to detect and punish. So constructed as to be easily evaded, they have thus far proved as ineffectual as the snare which is set in the face of the bird it would enmesh.

One step towards a remedy we will venture to suggest, and ask that it be carefully considered before it is rejected. The country is besouled by rulers who are the offspring of the caucus. It is through its incubating processes that base men are thrust into high positions, and small men into large places, enabling Brown, Smith and Jones to crowd some slippery rogue or subservient nonentity down the throats of twenty thousand voters, by calling it "regular," and according to "the usages of the party." We must repudiate the nominations of the caucus, for it is in its fetid chambers that insignificant and corrupt candidates have their birth. We must elevate the intellectual and moral standard of fitness for responsible positions. When political parties put simpletons or villains, or even mild mediocrities and average political honesty, in nomination for stations requiring brains, culture and stainless integrity to discharge their duties, the parties must be laughed to scorn and their favorites consigned to ignominious defeat. If candidates for important posts be either unknown or too well known, that mere fact should be deemed sufficient for driving them from the field in order to make room for men whose talents, whose virtues, whose achievements, whose very names even, furnish their passport to public confidence and favor.

We must resist the tyranny of partisan organizations, and encourage political independence. Repudiating the ill-shaped and diseased offspring of party conventions. We must encourage candidates to nominate themselves, and promote popular requisitions upon eminent citizens for the use of their names for places of trust and power.

The plan we have suggested is far from meeting the entire exigencies of the evil under con-

sideration. We propose it only as one step towards the goal of reform, one plank towards the erection of that dyke which alone can beat back the waves of official corruption that are threatening to sweep away civic virtue and undermine democratic institutions.

## THE VOTE OF THE STURGIS WOMEN.

THINGS which are important at all are more important than they seem. A human life that is truly life, has ever one history too deep to be written. No poetry ever could sound its mysteries. The world longs to know what Jesus was as youth, apprentice, carpenter and private gentleman. All the gospels and epistles fail to show these. But were all these revealed with Boswellian fidelity, the biography would still be incomplete.

A sudden death is pronounced by coroner's inquest, "disease of the heart." But there are other diseases of the heart, about which juries are not called to inquire. Death by them is not sudden, and so is not mysterious; and so no coroner is called. It is "natural death," the world holds, and there leaves it.

All history, biography, obituary and tombstones should be read as well between, as in the lines. He is no student who knows not this. The crest on the billow is most conspicuous, though only innocent froth and foam. Then there is the thundering billow itself; but in the silent undertow, all unseen, unsuspected, is often a power and peril greater than all the ocean beside. John Brown, at Harper's Ferry, was the mirth and mockery of mankind. But Harper's Ferry was the keyhole to the slave's prison, and his conscience and courage were the key. He unlocked the bastile, and chattel slavery was no more.

Emigration to this country is more than numerical additions to the census. We see only men and women as trees, walking. But by it the tree of American population is grafted, inoculated from all the growths of the world, giving as a result a possible tree of life; a national immortality, all the bloods of all the nations contributing thereto. The very pollutions of slavery paid the tribute of African blood, the antipodal current of the Saxon, the needful neutralizing of its frozen ruggedness. So that when Henry Clay predicted the extinction of slavery, by "the inevitable law of population," he spoke better than he knew. They mercilessly robbed the slaves of all their possible, conceivable rights. Had there been more they would not have been spared to them. But when, by unhallowed lust and concubinage, the masters stole their color, "the inevitable law of population transferred it to their own, until, in the South, none knew certainly his own color or that of his neighbor."

And thus slavery and emigration are making of us at length a people indeed of one blood, dipped from the veins of all the nations on the globe; making more pertinent than ever the declaration that all are created equal, and endowed with the same inalienable rights.

But it is time to go back to Michigan and the hundred and twenty brave women of Sturgis. Scarcely has a more auspicious event transpired in a century than was their appearance at the polls. In number, they were a hundred and twenty. When Christianity took the first account of stock, after the departure of its illustrious founder, "the number of the names together were about a hundred and twenty." But what angelic arithmetic can compute the

result that flowed from the consecrations of that hour? They were obscure persons, those hundred and twenty. Many of them were women. They believed in one who had just died as a malefactor, the most ignominious of all death. But the virtue of the victim set the very cross on fire, and kindling the souls of that hundred and twenty, it beams through them and their successors down through the ages, and shall shine on forever.

They were consecrated and commissioned to a sacred work. But not more sacred than the act of the women of Sturgis. Drunkenness, like a dragon, was devouring their sons. The fathers could not rescue them, more than the priest of Apollo, wrestling feebly with the serpent that tied him and his sons in terrible coils. Wisely they invoked the aid of woman. A hundred and twenty hastened to the encounter, and a hundred and fourteen smote him with their solemn protest, in the name of purity, humanity and God. Well did Bishop Simpson eloquently say, "You may get men to trifle with purity, virtue and righteousness, but, I thank God, not the women! The hearts of our mothers, wives and daughters are too pure to compromise with intemperance or licentiousness. And I believe these great vices will not be driven from our land till the ballot is put in the hands of woman."

And the government itself needs the new element of woman as the nation needs the fresh blood of emigration. In vegetation as well as throughout the animal kingdom, the law of sex is universal and irrepealable. It is even held that the same principle extends through the vast mineral domain as well; and more, that all the planets and orbs that swing in illimitable space are as really male and female as are men and women. Be all this as it may, in the realm of morals and spirit, the sublime problem admits of no doubt. There, inevitably, it is not good that *male* should be alone. Nay it is infinitely bad, that it should be alone. All the faith and grace of religion itself could not preserve a church made up of male membership and ministry altogether. A church so constituted would soon rot down to "a habitation of devils; a hold of every foul spirit; and cage of every unclean and hateful bird!"

Why is it that the Roman Catholic church survives all religions, has outlived all governments existing at its formation? She saw the commencement of all the governments now existing, and all the ecclesiastical establishments, and there is, perhaps, but too good reason to believe she will see the end of them all. In two modes the female element is part of the wondrous power of that church and accounts for its longevity and might, even give it immortality; one is of course the worship of the Virgin Mary. God, as Father, and as Son, and as Holy Ghost, might inspire reverence and dread only, in hearts that, at the shrine of the ever blessed Mary, Mother of God, would kindle into humble, holy and lasting love.

Frances Power Cobbe, though deprecating the doctrine, says of it, "The Catholic world has found a great truth, that love, motherly tenderness and pity is a divine and holy thing, worthy of adoration. What does this widespread sentiment regarding this new divinity indicate? It can surely only point to the fact that there was something lacking in the elder creed, which, as time went on, became a more and more sensible deficiency, till at last the instinct of the multitude filled it up in this amazing manner."

The second element of female energy in that church is in the place and work assigned to woman. She calls devout women to spiritual functions, dignities, and even magistracies. In England or America, if a pious and benevolent woman enters the cells of a prison to pray with the most unhappy and degraded of her sex, she does so without any authority from the church. Indeed, the Protestant church places the ban of its reprobation on any such irregularity. "At Rome," as Lord Macaulay said, "the Countess of Huntington would have a place in the Calendar at St. Selina, and Mrs. Fry would be Foundress and First Superior of the Blessed Order of Sisters of the Jails."

Were governments as wise as the Roman Catholic church, the past and present mortality of nations need not be. The first social sentence known in history was, "God saw that it was not good for man to be alone." Who doubts its divine inspiration?

Those Sturgis women led the forlorn hope in our struggle for national restoration and salvation. The event should be celebrated as another Fourth of July. The glorious results of that (in itself) little transaction are known only to Omniscience. Highly favored are they among women. Let them appreciate themselves the magnitude of that single performance, and let it be the beginning of a noble and righteous conflict for justice, purity, peace and liberty.

"How knowest thou what argument,  
Thy deed to thy neighbor's cred hath lent?"

P. P.

#### ADVICE TO THE STRONG-MINDED.

In the May number of the *Public Spirit*, a new monthly for the million, Mr. Croly, one of the editors of the *World*, addresses a letter to us on the question of Woman's Rights. He clearly sees that a new era is dawning on the world, and that a new type of womanhood is inevitable, and fully agrees with us in the opinion that woman has a public as well as a private work. It is in the main a good letter. The writer evidently intends to treat the question fairly and with seriousness, and to present the real difficulties as they strike his own mind. He discusses his main points under the following heads:

1. The tendency of the age is to extend to women equal rights with men in political discussion, in education and employment.

2. This recognition of the rights of women is accompanied by a decline in the manifestation of respect and deference, and in the duty of protection, which has heretofore been paid to women by men.

3. The period of transition is, and will be, marked by great changes in the existing relations of the sexes. The assertion by women of equal rights with men, will lead to disagreements between the sexes, to frequent divorces of husbands and wives, and to a great increase of enforced celibacy. Nothing is more certain than that, for the next ten or fifteen years, there will be a larger number of separations of husbands and wives, and a greater reluctance to enter into the marriage state, than during the same period immediately preceding.

Under the first head Mr. Croly says whether the new condition of things will give us a better or worse type of womanhood than we have at present, "it is idle to discuss, the future will tell its own story;" but it is evident from what follows that he looks forward with fearful forebodings, for breakers ahead. The present type of womanhood is surely not so complete, that we need fear to make a change; and as the march of civilization is ever onward and the race is growing wiser and better, our institutions and governments more humane; wrong,

oppressions, cruelties, being rebuked and modified on all sides, it is fair to suppose that woman will keep step with all creation, and not prove an exception to the general rule. The extension of the suffrage is clearly the great idea of the century, agitating the leading minds alike in the old world and the new. As we look over the history of the past, it needs but little observation to see that just in proportion as this right has been extended, the condition of the masses has been improved, increasing the self-respect of the newly enfranchised classes, and securing to them an added respect and consideration from their rulers. Reasoning from analogy, as enfranchisement has made man wiser, better, richer, opening to him greater advantages of education and broader spheres for labor, it is fair to suppose that like causes would produce like effects on woman also. No one doubts that Mr. Croly has more self-respect today, and commands more respect from his fellow-men, with the ballot in his hand, than he would if he belonged to a disfranchised class, for the ballot is a kind of political thermometer giving an exact gauge of the status of the citizen,

In regard to Mr. Croly's second point. It does not correspond with the experience of the past that weakness or dependence secures respect and protection. On the contrary, with the education and independence of woman, man's respect and admiration have steadily increased. There are no women in the world more self-reliant, proud and independent in their feelings and bearing than the American women, and yet there are no men more attentive and deferential to women than Americans; and they are loyal just in proportion as women by their greatness and genius are wholly independent of themselves. Are the Turk and the Chinaman, with their women in the Harem and iron shoes, more courteous and deferential than the American, where women are seen everywhere, travelling about the country, driving through the streets, in political meetings, editor's sanctums, and talking to rulers in the halls of legislation? And as between the butterflies of fashion and the strong-minded, you will find in any evening or dinner party the leading men of the nation bestowing their attentions and courtesies on the women of distinction, even on those who have demanded the right of suffrage for the last twenty years. We doubt whether all the weak, dependent young girls in this country together, no matter how rich or beautiful, have ever received the courtesies and attentions bestowed on Anna Dickinson in private circles, though she has supported herself since she was fourteen years old, travelled alone all over the country, faced mobs, and stood fire, having one of her black curls shot off without flinching! No, facts and philosophy are all against Mr. Croly's assertion. An infirm, dependent woman never calls out the full strength or power of a man's love. The present position of woman, as the inferior and dependent of man, is an entire perversion of the natural order. Woman, as the mother of the race, as the representative of the moral element in the sexes, is the rightful governing power, the umpire, the dictator in all affecting our social relations, and when she is restored to her rightful throne, she will be the object of greater love and admiration than she has ever yet known.

Again, as to the divorces and disagreements discussed under Mr. Croly's third head, we have only to say that we have had these things

from the beginning. Men have put away and multiplied wives at their pleasure, and it is quite probable that when woman is independent and self-supporting she will choose the father of her children. But as the attraction of the sexes to one another is founded in nature, and in true conditions, there can be no real antagonism between man and woman, this question of marriage will regulate itself. In exalting moral power above brute force, in the education, elevation, and enfranchisement of woman, one thing is sure, that vice, disease, and crime, drunkenness, deformity, and degradation, will find no means of perpetuating themselves. In the restoration of woman we look for the re-creation of the race, for that great onward step that will accomplish all the partial reforms that now occupy the public thought.

Again, Mr. Croly says :

Talk less about your rights, but evince a keener sense of your duties if you would secure the prize of the ballot. Denouncing men for withholding your right, may be one way to obtain it; but a far better way, would be to prove to the world your fitness to exercise it when secured. Show that, with De Tocqueville, you are conscious that women "impart to a nation that moral temperament which is subsequently revealed in its policy," and that the following observation of his, however true it may have been when made, is no longer founded upon fact: "I see multitudes of these (mothers and wives), who have a thousand private virtues; but of that part of their duty which concerns public life, they have not the dimmest idea. Not only do they fail to practice it themselves, but they do not seem to dream of enjoining such practice on those who come under their influence. The phase of education is to them, as it were, invisible."

Mr. Croly's article closes with much excellent advice to the women of the metropolis, as to the various public works they should do.

He says they should take charge of the public health, of our streets, tenement houses, jails, prisons, asylums, superintend the schools, the press, the halls of legislation. They should suppress drunkenness, gambling, licentiousness, legislative corruption, and immoral advertisements in public journals, and the wholesale murder of the innocents in hospitals and badly ventilated school-rooms; and after we do all these things systematically and well, then, he thinks, we shall prove our calling and election sure to the right of the ballot. In other words, being women, we are to make bricks without straw, learn to swim without going near the water, regulate public abuses without a voice in the laws, being supernaturally endowed, we are to do without the ballot what man is wholly unable to do with it. These are the very things we want to do; all we ask is the authority of the State. Make us school superintendents, prison and street inspectors, a uniformed police, and pay us for the discharge of these duties! That is the point Mr. Croly forgot! Somehow women's duties are always gratuitous. Make the women of this State paid officers under government and you would soon see a change in the face of things in this city. Make Susan B. Anthony, for example, with her executive talent, street inspector for one year, and you would have clean streets and save one-half your present expenses.

Now, do not start, fair reader, at the suggestion. We should have the lady inspector mounted on a splendid black charger, reviewing the city a few hours each day, and, instead of that troop of rheumatic old men, looking as if each scratch of the broom would be their last, that now sweep our streets, we should have an organized force of girls, well dressed, with light brooms and hoes, and a few sprightly men to lead the carts. Girls that now have

nothing to do, to whom no one will open their doors, who pine and curse God and die in our garrets and cellars, would not be degraded, but exalted on two dollars a day, well dressed and fed, working, instead of begging in the street.

"Say less about our rights, and think more of our duties! We cannot do our duties until we secure our rights. We are bound hand and foot by your laws and constitutions. But when we can back what we talk and write with our votes, we have an added power that none can gainsay or resist. Hence, instead of devoting our energies to any specific work, we have pressed on public consideration those principles that are now fast culminating in the political equality of the women of the country." E. C. S.

#### ROMAN AND SPARTAN CUSTOM.

SOMEBODY writes, we do not know who, though the history itself is true that the Roman Censors frequently imposed taxes on unmarried men, and men of full age were obliged by law to marry unless mentally or physically disqualified. The Spartan women, at certain games, laid hold of all old bachelors they could get their hands on, and inflicted on them every mark of infamy and disgrace, dragging them around their altars, and handling them very roughly. In 1695 the English Parliament laid a tax on bachelors over twenty-five years of £12 10s for a duke, which was graduated down to 1s for a common man. Uncle Sam has been very lenient to his unmarried nephews at all times, but he might do a good thing for the heavy war debt by laying a revenue and *ad captum* tax on them just now. As this is leap year, if the ladies use their privilege, old maids and bachelors who are not already hardened and inveterate cases, will not even have the ghost of an excuse for continuing in the state of "single blessedness."

#### BALLOT, BENCH AND BARICADE.

BOSTON, May 10, 1868.

FRIEND PILLSBURY: Allow me to congratulate you on the successful manner in which you are running your lighting express *Train*. Please keep a good look out ahead—for steel rails may snap and cause another Altoona tragedy.

*Revolutions* are the order of the day, and the world certainly does move, or we never could have found Parker Pillsbury in such a partnership; but I would as soon have looked to see the leopard change its spots, as to see our old anti-slavery friends, Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, and Parker Pillsbury, hand in glove with George Francis Train and the old pro-slavery leagues. *Perhaps* they have experienced a thorough change of heart; let us see, if, in truth, they will repeal our fugitive slave laws; emancipate all adult female slaves; give each woman thus freed an acre of good tillable land in her own township, which shall be exempt from taxation, or process for debt, and forever be and remain for her own sole use, occupancy and benefit; give each same, adult woman the ballot with which to protect herself, her property and children. Will they in reality rise superior to the prejudices of caste and make every native born citizen, woman and man, eligible to any office?

Less than that will not content us, that we demand as our right, and that we will have; peaceably, if we can; forcibly, if we must. Less than that will not secure to us life, liberty and happiness. Let them begin the good work here in Massachusetts, where L. S. Hallock, successor at Tremont Temple, Fulton, aye, and the legislature too, say woman has *more* than her rights; she has some extra privileges! Truly, she has the privilege of working at starvation prices; of paying for a home, subject to an enforced, and it may be obnoxious and degrading tenancy; of being hunted down and returned to her master like any other slave. Witness the Boston *Herald* of last week, which says, "an unfaithful wife, belonging in Boston, who had run away from her ho-

with one of the attachés of a circus that exhibited in Taunton, was arrested in that city Friday morning and returned to her family, *in accordance with the request of her husband*." I have anxiously waited, but thus far in vain, hoping to see that gallant pro-slavery league, who once girdled the State House with chains, rise *en masse* to resist such surrender of such fugitive slave to her owner.

An estimable lady told me one day with something of a pardonable pride, "My husband used to say that women were good for nothing to do anything; but he don't say that now. About eight years ago our house was burned, there was no insurance on it, because he did not believe in such things. I went to work painting in a new style and teaching, and was successful enough to rebuild and furnish our home; then he signed his name to some paper, and lost everything again. This mortified and discouraged him so that he was sick; I told him I was not discouraged; I was sure I could earn enough to live, got up another specialty and have made up all we lost, every dollar," and yet this woman in the eye of the law is classed with "idiots, paupers and criminals;" and must obey her natural protector as to what she shall eat, drink or wear—must pay taxes for a government which obliges her, without her consent, to be under the control of the most vicious, intemperate, ignorant man who casts a vote. Society even robs her of her hard earned business name, since both the patents were issued to her husband.

My vocation, that of healer, brings me in contact with all forms of suffering and wrong; making as I do, the bodily and mental diseases of women and children, more particularly, my specialty; studying into the laws of cause and effect. I see every day more clearly the value, necessity, and sanitary qualities of the three B's; Bench, Ballot, Baricade, of home and if need be of battle. My case book is full of interesting sketches, some of which I may hereafter transfer to your columns with your approval. Meantime I will endeavor to get subscribers for "THE REVOLUTION," and thus do all I can for the cause. Will do more, just as soon as possible.

Yours for the right, AURORA C. PHELPS.

#### GIVE THEM GOOD MOTHERS.

From the London Saturday Review.

"TELL me how to improve the youth of France," said Napoleon one day to Madame de Campan. "Give them good mothers," was the reply. There are some things which even Napoleon may be pardoned for feeling puzzled in undertaking, and Madame de Campan would no doubt have added much to the weight of her reply by a few practical words as to the machinery requisite for the supply of the article recommended. But her request is now the cry of the world. The general uneasiness arises simply from the conviction that woman is becoming more and more indifferent to her actual post in the social economy of the world, and the criticisms in which it takes form, whether grave or gay, could all be summed up in Madame de Campan's request, "Give us good mothers." After all protests against limiting the sphere of the sex to a single function of their existence, public opinion still regards woman primarily in her relation to the generation to come. If it censures the sensible girl who stoops to slang, or the modest girl who stoops to indecency, it is because the sense and the modesty which they abandoned is not theirs to hold or to fling away, but the heritage of the human race. But this seems to be less and less the feeling of woman herself. For good or for evil, or, perhaps more truly, for both good and evil, woman is becoming conscious every day of new powers, and longing for an independent sphere in which she can exert them. Marriage is aimed at with a passionate ardor unknown before, not as a means of gratifying affection, but as a means of securing independence. To the unmarried girl life is a sheer bondage, and there is no sacrifice too great to be left untried if it only promises a chance of deliverance. She learns to despise the sense, the information, the womanly reserve which fail to attract the deliverer. She has to sell herself to purchase her freedom; and she will take very strong measures to secure a purchaser. The fool, the fool, little knows the keen scrutiny with which the gay creature behind her fan is taking stock of his feeble preferences, is preparing to play upon his feeble aversions. Pitiful as he is, it is for him that she arranges her artillery on the toilet-table, the "little segots," the powder bloom, the rouge "precipitated from the damask rose-leaf," the Styrian lotion that gives "beauty and freshness to the complexion, plumpness to the figure, clearness and softness to the skin." He has a faint flicker of liking for brunettes; she lays her triumphant finger on her

"walnut stain," and darkens into the favorite tint. He loves plumpness, and her "Sinai Manna" is at hand to secure *embonpoint*. Belladonna flashes on him from her eyes, Kohl and antimony deepen the blackness of her eyebrows, "bloom of roses" blushes from her lips. She stoops to conquer, and it is no wonder that the fop and the fool go down. The freedom she covets comes with marriage, but it is a freedom threatened by a thousand accidents, and threatened, above all, by maternity. It is of little use to have bowed to slant and shoulder-straps, if it be only to tie one's self to a cradle. The nursery stands sadly in the way of the free development of woman; it clips her social enjoyment, it curtails her bonnet bills. "The slavery of nursing a child," one fair protester tells us, "only a mother knows." And so invents a pretty theory about the damage done to modern constitutions by our port-drinking forefathers, and ceases to nurse at all. But even this is only partial independence; she pants for perfect freedom from the cares of maternity. Her tone becomes the tone of the household, and the spouse she has won growls over each new arrival. She is quite ready to welcome the growl. "Nature," a mother informs us, "turns restive after the birth of two or three children," and mothers turn restive with nature. "Whatever else you may do," she adds, "you will never persuade us into liking to have children," and, if we did, we should not greatly value the conversion. And so woman wins her liberty, and bows her emphatic reply to the world's appeal, "Give us good mothers," by declining to be a mother at all.

By the sacrifice of womanliness, by the sacrifice of modesty, by flattering her wooer's base preferences before marriage, by encouraging his baser selfishness afterwards, by hunting her husband to the club and restricting her maternal energies to a couple of infants woman has at last bought her freedom. She is no slave of her husband as her mother was, she is not buried beneath the care of a family like her grandmother. She has changed all that, and the old world of home and domestic tenderness and parental self-sacrifice lies in ruins at her feet. She has her liberty; what will she do with it? As yet, freedom means simply more slang, more jewelry, more selfish extravagance, less modesty. As we meet her on the stairs, as we see the profuse display of her charms, as we listen to the flippant, vapid chatter we turn a little sickened from woman stripped of all that is womanly, and cry to Heaven, as Madame de Campan cried to the Emperor—"Give us good mothers."

#### RADICAL CONSISTENCY.

REPUBLICANS are not all perversely blind. The Kansas *State Journal*, a radical and able paper, comments as below on some of the recent action in Northern States on Colored Suffrage:

"My Michigan" has dishonored herself, and covered the party with shame and inconsistency in refusing to adopt the new constitution. That State has a population of nearly 1,000,000 hardy and enterprising sons and daughters. Next to Ohio it is the greatest wool State in the Union, but it has all the prejudices against negro Suffrage that South Carolina and Georgia possess. With its 1,000,000 white population it has also about 1,200 negroes, and for some unaccountable reason the State has declared by about 40,000 majority that the 1,200 negroes shall not vote; and yet Michigan has the inconsistency to ask or rather force, upon the people of the South, the very rule with regard to suffrage which she rejects for herself by so large a majority. Michigan ought to be ashamed of herself. To maintain her diabolical inconsistency she should call home Zach Chandler, and Jack Howard. If it is wrong for intelligent negroes to vote in Michigan it is wrong for ignorant negroes, made so inevitably by the surroundings and associations of a life-time, to vote in South Carolina. If it is bad State policy for 1,200 negroes in one State, it is bad State policy for 12,000 of the same class to vote in another State. And this is all there is of the Negro Suffrage proposition. If the thin-skinned, white-livered, and milk-and-water republicans of Michigan haven't sense enough to appreciate these obvious truths, they had better change their names, and leave the lake-bound State, and move off up into Alaska or British America. Their climate is not more cold and repulsive than are the sensibilities of the people frigid and unrelenting.

**CONSISTENT.**—The Boston *Post* says, "the Sherman House at Chicago, which is to be the headquarters of radical delegates, does not admit

colored persons. The Louisiana delegation will have to quarter elsewhere." True, oh *Post!* but two of the richest, most cultivated and refined gentlemen of that same state came to Boston a few years since, and were denied access to every (so called) decent hotel for precisely the same reasons, and probably would be to-day. Nor would a vast majority of the churches treat them any better.

**THE LAST BECOMING FIRST.**—The Religious Rights bill lately introduced into the Austrian Parliament, permits parties about to be married, to decide in what religious faith their children shall be educated, or at the birth of each child to settle this question. At fourteen years of age every boy or girl can select his or her own creed. Change of religion and proselytism are no longer to be punishable offences, and no man is to be compelled to pay for the support of a creed which he does not believe, or to follow any particular formulas of worship. Austria being intensely Roman Catholic, not behind even Spain or Rome, such a liberality may well surprise the nations.

#### HENRY WARD BEECHER.

"MR. BEECHER'S advice to a poor young man—get married and run in debt for a farm"—*Ex-Change*.

Then go to work to pay for your farm. Observe the strictest economy till you have paid for it. Keep no servants; do all the house work yourself, that is, let your wife do it. Let the girl whose affection has joined her lot with yours, serve you as wife, mother, nurse, housekeeper, hostess, chambermaid, chore-woman, dairy maid and maid of all work, till her youth has fled, her strength is exhausted, her beauty has faded, her health is broken, and her nerves are unstrung. Continue this till you are a man of wealth; and then let the condition to which her love of you and your love of yourself have brought her drive her into the lunatic asylum (see Massachusetts reports)—or better still, when riches have come and the noble band of sons and daughters into whom she has transfused her life, are growing up to reverence and comfort her, let her lie down to die, and leave you a wealthy widower, to display your wealth by calling a second beautiful girl to the ornaments of the new house which the economy of money and the waste of life by your first have given you.

Though this is no part of Mr. Beecher's advice, it is a part of the programme of many who profess to act on it. Shame, eternal shame on the man who takes so dastardly and cruel an advantage of that most generous of earthly sentiments, a true woman's affection.

**JUST INDIGNATION.**—The Yates County *Chronicle* speaks thus plainly of the doings, undoings and misdoings of the New York Legislature in its late session:

As we expected, the committees of investigation in the Senate and Assembly appointed to look into charges of corruption have reported all right and sweet. They found nothing of course. Whoever knew of a gang of thieves uncovering their own transactions? Each party has had perhaps a dozen honest men in the Assembly, and the rest have been bought with more or less facility by whoever desired to make the purchase. The Senate has been equally corrupt. We are glad to know that a Legislature so infamous has finally adjourned. They came to that, the most virtuous of their resolutions, on Tuesday evening.

At last a Sunday *World* has been constituted; and we wonder how long, in this progressive age, we will be likely to remain without a *Sun*, on Sunday, to cheer us with pleasant "Sunbeams."

Mr. OTLEY, of Lafayette, Ind., has disposed of six wives, three by death and three by divorce.—*Ex-Change*. Suppose this had been a woman that had "disposed of six husbands, three by death and three by divorce," what a great noise the opponents of Woman's Rights would have made, but since it was a "white male" all is right.

VOTING in Greece is somewhat different from voting in America. The polling-places are churches. Thirty ballot-boxes are placed on the floor of the church, each of them bearing the name of a candidate.—*The Week*.

Thus, in degenerated Greece, the ballot is regarded as something sacred, as it should be, and is cast in her sacred places, not in grog-shops and corner groceries as here. When women vote, America will follow the noble example of Greece—and not until then.

#### THE PATENT OFFICE.

As the President of the United States, several of his Cabinet officers, and a large majority of the members of Congress are regular subscribers to "THE REVOLUTION," its columns are well adapted to the ventilation of the Patent Office.

Though the officers of the Patent Office are appointed solely with regard to their political accord with the party in power, unlike most departments of government this has been little used as a lubricator of the partisan machine, and changes are unfrequent. Hence, the partisan press cares little for its management, and as the journals which make science and invention a specialty are published by Patent Solicitors who are dependent on, and are under the ban of their dictators in the office, the general public are kept ignorant of the conduct of a department to which, more than to any other, in spite of its faults, we are directly indebted for our progress in wealth and civilization.

Facts in my possession (duplicates of which may be found on the files of the Patent Office), show an amount of ignorance and stupidity in the conduct of its affairs which, if tolerated in some other departments would result in Revolution.

A large proportion of the examiners have no knowledge of practical science, and are so lax in official duty that they treat applicants for patents as their servants rather than as their masters, and ignoring arguments, affidavits, and even practical demonstrations relating to the utility of inventions, they refuse patents for valuable improvements, and often grant them for ridiculous and worthless novelties. Let Congress appoint a commission composed of men competent to make a thorough investigation, and sufficient evidence will be found on the files of the office to relieve of their positions at least four-fifths of its present incumbents.

Some special cases, with names of examiners, may appear in a future number of "THE REVOLUTION," which will make interesting reading for the Commissioner who appointed and Senators who confirmed such non-descripts in office.

#### FINANCIAL PROBLEMS.

##### NO. V.

STATE HOUSE, Boston, April 24, 1868.

To the Editors of the *Revolution*:

PROMISING that I do not feel any anxiety that what I write upon financial questions should be published (that being none of my business), I desire to say that in relation to banking and currency, there are some truths yet to be learned, and one of these is that no government can supply directly the paper we need for change in place of coin in our commercial transactions, which are mainly effected by means of drafts, checks, transfers of credit, etc., which are created at the time for the purpose, and which are the real currency of the world, compared to which the legal-tenders and bank notes are no more than so much fractional currency.

You may call in and destroy every one of the legal-tender and bank notes to-morrow and you only compel our treasurer and all others, who now ask notes as a convenience, to substitute checks, which have the same representative and purchasing power, and can be made and used to any desired extent in spite of Congress or any other power.

That bank notes are a cheap, convenient substitute for coin, and that we ought to have them, no one can deny. But, I protest against any effort to issue greenbacks from the treasury, or from any governmental source except through the banks which should be not only obliged to give the most ample security that the notes shall always be convertible, and no loss or delay fall upon the holder, but pay into the general treasury such a tax, as a portion of the profit, as will take away the objection now made to the excessive income derived at our expense.

What we need and can certainly have, is a safe, cheap, convenient bank note currency which shall always be sufficient and never redundant, and which shall, when

we have international coinage, be at par not only in all our large cities, but equally in London, Paris, Frankfort or elsewhere. This is as easy for us now to attain, as it was a short time since to make all notes in New England good as specie in Boston.

In fact, the world now is so compressed by improved means of communication, that we can reach every place commercially easier than we could not long since go to New York from Boston. Let us keep up with the times.

In order to accomplish our purpose properly, we need first, international coinage, which seems to me the simplest question in the world, and then, international banking and currency. And why not? Why should we not require that all our large cities to which the notes of the country banks flow, should then in turn make their settlements at New York, as the common centre of our own country requiring the bank there to settle in London, which for the present is the clearing house of the whole world, and therefore the point where funds are always desirable, because such funds are sufficient to make a purchase or pay a debt everywhere.

There is no good reason why we should not first have an absolutely free national system of banking for our whole country, leaving the amount of capital, circulation and specie, as well as the rate of interest, to be determined, as all such questions should, by the national laws of trade and not by legislation, which always does mischief.

We should also have as a natural condition a centre of this system, where the subordinate or local centres could all meet and settle their balances, and as I have already said, the great centre should recognize the same law and find the centre of the world at London. Our central institution in New York, with its branches in all the large cities acting as the points of settlement for local institutions, should be required to keep and distribute all the government revenues without charge, and to pay interest on deposits, and a reasonable tax like other banks on its notes in circulation.

How much this tax should be I cannot say, because there must be something allowed for the risk the bank incurs in promising that its own notes shall always be paid on demand while those of its customers may sometimes not come in so promptly as they ought. This of course compels the bank as a matter of prudence to hold an idle reserve, and that must be allowed for in our estimate of the tax. But, I insist upon the tax, as I did many years since when Auditor of Accounts for Massachusetts, because I am sure it is equitable and would tend to keep the banks from over-issuing.

Having, however, taking bonds to secure this tax, the safety of our deposits and the redemption of the notes as already prepared, we should leave all other matters to the natural laws of trade, which, when not interfered with by ignorant legislation, are always sufficient.

I am quite certain from my long connection with the finances of my native state, and knowledge of the management here for the past sixty years, that we do not need the sub-treasury with all its cumbersome, expensive machinery, and that the banks could do our work not only much cheaper, but infinitely better.

Our State Treasurer has, during the long period I have named constantly deposited his funds in, and drawn his checks upon, our banks and never lost a dollar or had any delay or difficulty.

Now, as I have already said, our capital or available funds must be represented by checks and transfers of credit, rather than by specie, which is only our measure, and cannot be our currency, there is no reason why the general government as well as that of our own state should not be governed by common sense and adopt the mode followed by the rest of the world.

Please reflect a little upon the question, which I feel perhaps, more at home in than you care to do, but which, next to woman, is the great problem of the age, and if you think I can be of any service or aid to you at all, let me hear from you. At any rate, do not forget what I have said upon these subjects, for some time you will see that I have told you the truth.

D. WILDER.

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## THE REVOLUTION.

### N O. XX.

#### To our Servants at Washington from the People at Home.

##### BANKING GREENBACKS AND CREDIT.

To the statesman or political economist, the fact that the profits of the National banks are greater than any other business in the country, and that they are on the average two and three times greater than they were before the rebellion, is evidence of an unhealthy condition of affairs, ruinous to National prosperity. The enormous profits of the National banks, show that the industrial interests are sacrificed to the non-producing money-lenders, and that capital is getting more than its share of the profits of labor. The profits of the National banks are realized chiefly from carrying the National debt in the shape of Government bonds, held either as their own property or collaterals for loans.

The interest paid on these government bonds is 6 per cent. in gold, equal to about 8½ per cent. in currency, and it comes directly out of the pockets of the people in the shape of taxes. The National banks, therefore, have more than their just share of the annual profits which the Nation makes, and as a matter of course, the people receive just so much less than they are entitled to—as the first proposition includes the latter. That the banks gain by carrying government bonds, the people lose. It is therefore necessary in order to restore to the people that money which the National banks are taking from the proceeds of their labor, by interest on the government bonds, that the legal power to carry so many bonds should be taken from the banks. For example, the banks are enabled to carry \$300,000,000 of bonds on which they receive annually 6 per cent. interest in gold, owing to the fact that Congress has authorized them to issue \$300,000,000 of their own notes as money. Without this privilege of issuing their own notes, the banks would not have the means to carry the \$300,000,000 of bonds on which they receive every year \$18,000,000 in gold equal to \$21,200,000 in currency, and to pay which the people are taxed. In addition to this the banks have received from Government, \$50,000,000 of legal tender three per cent. certificates which they can use as money in their bank reserves and on which they receive \$1,500,000 per annum.

If Congress were to replace these two bank currencies with greenbacks, then the people would realize that profit which the National banks now make, and this sum, small as it seems for one year, yet in sixty-five years, at compound interest, it would amount to about \$2,500,000,000, or sufficient to extinguish the whole National Debt. In plain terms, if greenbacks are not substituted for National bank notes and three per cent. cer-

tificates, then the National banks in 65 years will realize a profit from these two items equal to the whole amount of the National Debt. American citizens must of course work to make this vast sum for the National banks to pocket.

Now, not a shadow of sound reasoning can be advanced in favor of continuing this ruinous system. Greenbacks are the best and cheapest paper money that the people ever had. Greenbacks are of the same value in every part of the United States. They cancel all debts everywhere with equal facility. They are superior to the National bank notes, and yet they cost only the price of paper and printing, whereas the National bank notes cost the country \$23,000,000 a year and \$2,500,000,000 in 65 years. The National banks in order to frighten people off from touching their profits, always start the cry of "inflation" whenever it is proposed to issue more greenbacks and withdraw their notes. A greenback note contains no more of "inflation" than a National bank note.

Sound banking is the exchange of "bank credit" for "mercantile credit," because "bank credit" is superior to "mercantile credit" and more useful in the settlement of debts. "Bank credit" again is exchanged for "Government Credit," or greenbacks, because "government credit" or legal tender is superior to "bank credit" and more useful in the settlement of debts.

Any legal restriction on "mercantile credit" would be pronounced absurd by every one. Self-interest is considered sufficient restriction on "mercantile credit." Now, an increase of "mercantile credit" creates a demand for more "bank credit," or general currency. An increase of business, requires an increase of business notes, requiring discounts and loans or "bank credit." As "mercantile credit" is the basis of "bank credit" or, what is called the "circulating medium," and as "government credit" or legal tender performs the same functions as "bank credit," in a superior manner for the settlement of debts, it follows therefore in logical sequence that any legal restriction on "government credit" or "bank credit" is as absurd as it would be to place it on "mercantile credit." The one, is interchangeably the reflex of the other.

"Bank Credit" is always granted in exchange for property or securities which have at the time of the exchange a greater market value than the "bank credit." Uncurrent value or "mercantile credit" is simply exchanged for current value or "bank credit." This is done to facilitate exchanges or what are called commercial transactions. The greater value or "mercantile credit" must be in existence before the lesser value or "bank credit" can be obtained or created. In regard to "government credit" or legal tender, that can be obtained only after government has received full value for the same. Government can run no risk of loss in exchanging at par its bonds without interest, called greenbacks, for its own bonds bearing interest. How can any inflation arise from the exchange of government bonds for greenbacks?

During the last three weeks, the New York City banks have increased their loans over \$15,000,000, and their deposits of course the same amount, because the items called bank "loans" and "deposits" are the self same thing on the Dr. and Cr. side of the ledger. This is practically the same as if government had printed and issued \$15,000,000 of new greenbacks in exchange for its own bonds, with this difference, however, that in the one case the government or

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for the week were \$2,404,007 against \$2,293,625 last week, \$1,16,968, and \$2,255,530 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$5,77,251 against \$4,216,906, \$5,395,615, and \$5,556,564 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were \$3,434,635, against \$3,188,021, \$4,170,473, and \$4,111,405, for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were \$3,150,457, against \$3,686,394, \$1,431,891, \$1,967,201, and \$1,625,498 for the preceding weeks.

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